5th Anniversary Issue!!

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WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 6, NO. 1 | THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION | MAY 1995 ■ FREE

"The only people who are really blind are those whose eyes are so obscured by hatred and bigotry that they can't see the light of love and justice." Stevie Wonder

Olympian Demonstration

NO! Contract ~~With~~ On America

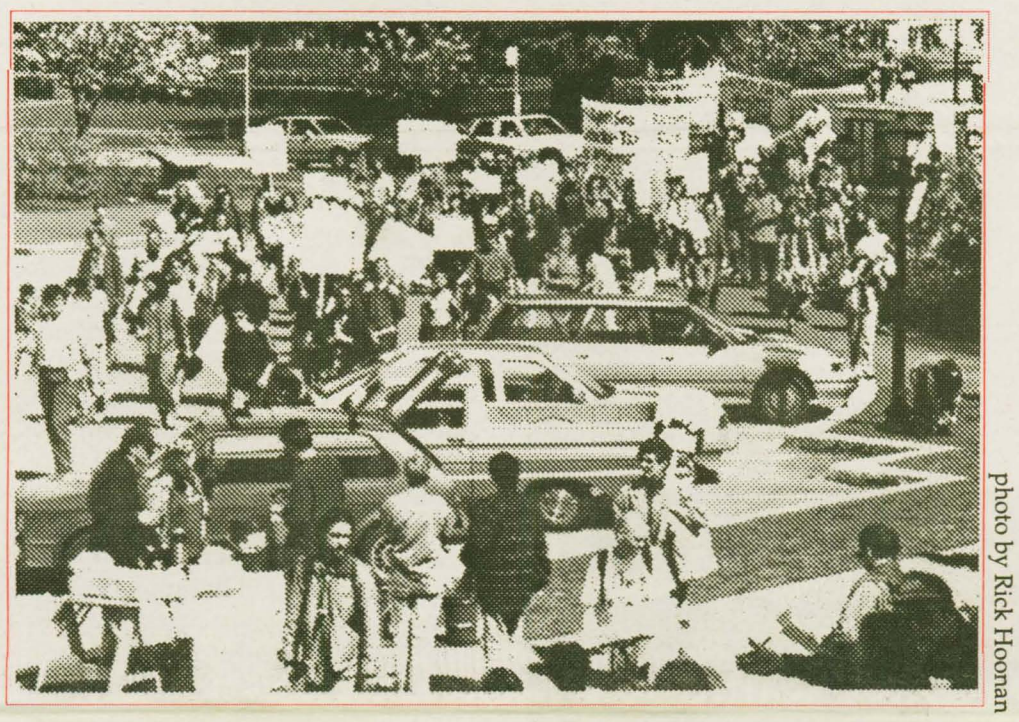

photo by Rick Hoonan

Pete Bohmer

This is a talk from the April 15, 1995 demonstration in Olympia against the Contract with America.

Today is a significant day. It is the 99th day of Newt

Gingrich's 100 day Counter-Revolution, his Contract on America. It is Tax Day, when taxes are due. Much more positive and significant in the long run is our joining together today to march and speak out powerfully to say NO to Greed and YES to Meeting People's Need, to say NO to yet more tax breaks for the Rich and Powerful, to say NO to scapegoating those with the least power in this society such as immigrants and the poor. We are here to say we are committed to struggling for much more than the pro-corporate, slighter lesser of two evils program of President Clinton, Governor Lowry and the Democratic Party. We are assembling here today as part of a struggle that will not stop until phrases such as social justice, democracy, health care and housing for all, people before profits, racial, gender and economic equality are the reality not propaganda; where an injury to one is an injury to all.

Rush Limbaugh, Randy Tate, Linda Smith, Newt Gingrich and their many clones in high places have a reactionary vision for the U.S.A. Its program is slickly packaged in the Contract With America. They believe human virtue is measured by one's wealth. They oppose any regulation or limitations on maximum profit-making and financial speculation such as strengthening unions or raising the minimum wage, establishing a tax system where the wealthy and corporations would pay a fair share, or limiting corporate pollution as violating market decisionmaking. Newt Gingrich and Robert Dole claim the misnamed "free market" is holier than Easter and God and cannot be interfered with. Of course, they forget the virtue of non-government intervention when it increases their favorite corporation's profits—for example, more and fatter defense contracts or building more prisons. They have many, many favorite corporations.

Their reactionary vision, which has some popular support, is to return to the so-called stability of the 1950's, a period of unchallenged U.S. global domination, where Blacks knew their place at the back of the bus; where male supremacy was less under attack and women were "less uppity" and abortions were illegal. This was before the civil rights movement and movements of people of color, and the student and anti-Vietnam war movements, and women and gays and lesbians, and many other movements challenged so powerfully in the streets the status quo. Is Congresswoman Linda Smith and Newt Gingrich's vision, your vision? NO! Their attacks on Clinton and Lowry, who they identify with the "disorder and chaos" of the 1960's, are their attempt to roll back the gains of the 1960's to go back to the sterility and reaction of the 1950's cold war—of "Leave it to Beaver", "Dragnet" and Joe McCarthy. NO THANKS!

Their reactionary vision has a certain appeal in a society where incomes have never been so unequal, where the standard of living for the majority has been falling for 20 years, where the so-called American dream of upward mobility is even less true than in the past, where society seems to be falling part—rising crime and drugs, people sleeping on the streets and in the parks of Olympia, communities destroyed as corporations constantly move production in search of yet higher profits.

NO to Greed and YES to Meeting People's Need, to say NO to yet more tax breaks for the Rich and Powerful, to say NO to scapegoating those with the least power in this society such as immigrants and the poor.

Corporate capitalism and the power of multinational corporations are not targeted as the cause of the current crisis by McNeil-Lehrer, Ted Koppel, or by the Republican, Democrats—how could they be, who is funding them? What are CBS, and Gannett, (the owner of *The Olympian*) but major corporations themselves? Since the cause of the growing inequality and poverty is kept invisible by them, it is so much easier to blame women on welfare rather than corporate welfare, immigrants and affirmative action as causing unemployment rather than corporate flight, to blame urban decay on those who live in central cities rather than the huge cut-backs in federal aid, and the policies of real estate speculators and corporations seek-

(Continued on page 17)

WIP makes it to fifth anniversary issue

This is the biggest, most colorful issue yet. Even then, we couldn't fit in all submissions received. For the convenience of those who may have missed some of our previous issues, on pages 22-3 is a complete catalog of all articles published in WIP.

We are on microfiche!

Recently, *WIP* was selected to be archived in the U of W Library in Seattle. The University project for the preservation of mainstream Washington newspapers, chose to include *WIP* among a hand full of other alternative press.

Who's been reading WIP?

It's always been interesting to discover the variety in our readership. We have been astounded to learn about some, such as the Olympia Police Dept., the downtown businesses, State Representative Steve Fuhrman (R), The Olympian, and the city council. We didn't think you noticed.

Thank you all!

And to the rest of you, wonderful people, thanks for all the articles, artwork, cartoons, poetry, and letters. Very simply put, it couldn't have been done without you.

WIP has survived financially through the support of donations and subscriptions from readers, and of very reliable advertisers. Please help us continue to do what needs to be done by filling out the subscription/donation form on page 3. Also, soon to be coming will be T-shirts, celebrating our fifth year.

Next month, *WIP* will be announcing its annual awards for community members and organizations who are working for positive social change.

Look for *WIP* soon to be in our new newspaper boxes! Thanks to the Sustaining Fund for their support!

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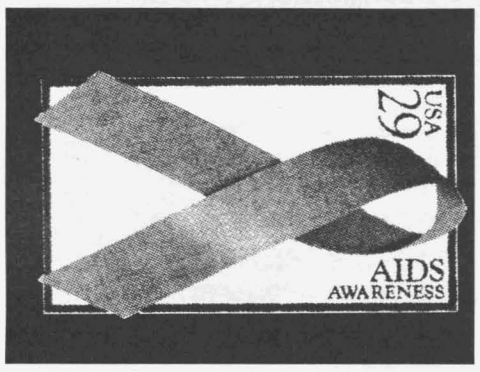

Public Affairs Programming on KAOS

Here are some public affairs programs of note broadcast on K.A.O.S. 89.3 FM that readers of "Works in Progress" may find intriguing and educational.

• Mondays: "Alternative Radio" 9 - 10 a.m. hosted by David Barsamian includes guests such as Noam Chomsky, Winona LaDuke, Barbara Ehrenreich, Russell Means and more.

• Tuesdays: "Counterspin" 9 - 9:30 a.m., hosted by Laura Flaunders and Janine Jackson from FAIR, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting. An in-depth analysis at corporate control of major media. Also, Friday nights at 5:30 p.m. "Soundprint" 4:30 - 5 p.m. explores social and political issues and current events.

• Wednesdays: "Crossroads" 5:30 - 6 p.m. hosted by Elisabeth PerezLuna, an in-depth look at diversity and the many nities of color.

• Thursdays: "WINGS: Women's International News Gathering Service" 9-9:30 a.m., repeats 5:30 - 6 p.m. Truly international in focus, follows activities by and about women and feminist issues around the globe!

• Fridays: "This Way Out" 9 - 9:30 a.m. the international Gay and Lesbian Radio Magazine hosted by Greg Gordon and Lucia Chappell. Repeats Sunday mornings at 9:30 a.m. Includes newswrap, a weekly roundup of all the major news affecting or of interest to the Lesbian and Gay community.

KAOS would like to thank our listeners for helping us surpass our pledge drive goal of $10,000 in our Spring Membership Drive. We made $10,500. It is not too late to pledge. Call Tom Freeman at 866-6000 ext. 6894 or to receive a program guide.

WIP Schedule

WIP article submission deadline is:

Wednesday, May 17

On Fri. May 19 there will be a meeting at SPEECH (218 Fourth Ave) at 7 pm. Call 705-2726 for info.

Proofreading Meeting

Tuesday, May 23 at 7pm

Call 705-2726 for place.

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Works In Progress

Mission Statement: This organization is dedicated to promoting mutual understanding among diverse cultural groups and providing a voice for peoples disenfranchised by the dominant culture. We encourage the presentation of material by those most affected by exclusionary and unfair practices. Our aim is to explore the meanings of injustice and democratic participation in our society and in relation to the emerging global transition.

Anti-Discrimination Clause: We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

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Works In Progress is a community newspaper sponsored by the Thurston County Rainbow Coalition. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Rainbow Coalition or the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Keep those letters and cards coming. Correspondence and articles are always welcome. If possible submit articles on disk (Wordperfect). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions; so for editing purposes please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

Animal Control Is Inhumane

I would like to respond to the letter in the April *Works In Progress* by JC Rogers, regarding my opinion-piece on animal control. In retrospect I see that I may have omitted some important information concerning my own stewardship of my pets, and I take full responsibility for not making certain details apparent.

The two episodes with Animal Control I made reference to in my article were instances where I had left my dogs alone for a few moments, and without exception suffered the consequences of these lapses. In the first episode, where the Animal Control officer let fly that he would shoot a dog if it crapped in his yard, I had gone inside to answer a phone call. Dumb! The second episode was an even briefer lack of decorum than the first — I went inside to take the tea kettle off, and in the ensuing two minutes (I am not exaggerating!) bing-bang-boom! Sophie meandered *just across* the street and was scooped, literally, into a Pound paddy wagon within those minutes.

I do not just open my front door and let my dogs go outside to wander aimlessly, precisely for the very reasons JC Rogers mentioned in the April letter. I am very aware of the myriad dangers that will befall animals because of human cruelty, and I appreciate Rogers' listing some of these dangers so articulately. The main thrust of my article was to present the fact that, because of the way Animal Control itself is designed, it is Animal Control itself which should be listed as one of these systems of human cruelty. It might be noteworthy to mention here that there are organizations in our community who provide an alternative to Animal Control, and whose focus is instead on rehabilitation and/or adoption of domestic animals (Concern For Animals — I think their number is 943-5398), or medical attention for wild animals who have been hurt or removed from their natural environment (Olympic Wildlife Rescue — who can be reached at 360-495-DEER). Please support them.

Finally, to address some more specific points — everyone has a responsibility to watch their pets *and* their children, and part of this responsibility includes disallowing your children to eat feces of any kind, as well as cigarette butts, old banana peels, etc. I can prevent my dog from defecating in your yard and in public spaces, but I do not hold my breath for the day when the earth is so sanitary (or so well-contained or well-policed) that you can let your smaller kids roll around on the ground unsupervised — you have just as much a right and a responsibility to fence your yard, your 'space', to ensure its sanctitude and healthfulness, as I do mine. And what about bird crap? Do you have a mosquito net arched over your environs? What about insects, which are particularly alluring to children? No, we will never be free of nature's messiness — thank Gawd. I am sure there are hapless children who get diseases from ingesting unmentionable things (although I come from a long line of animal lovers and this has never happened in my family), just as I am sure that children fall in lakes and drown — horrible, ghastly to imagine, but real — and I do not advocate draining all the lakes or putting chain-link fences up along the ocean shore. Follow me? This is the gist of the reasoning I was criticizing, and here it is thrown right back to me in a nutshell. Human hubris has no bounds. Right here is where we need a fence.

My statement, "Yes, I get annoyed and even angry when I step in dog shit, but I don't kill a dog," was a pretty straightforward reference to the main themes of my essay, which was about the big picture machinations of a society based on the notion that it is valid to send an animal to the pound, where it will nine-times-out-of-ten be killed, if it is caught wandering around doing anything, including pooping. When you make the call to Animal Control to remove an unwanted animal from your premises, you are participating in this grim moment. Don't lie to your kids about it, don't tell them it's "going to find a good home." Tell them the truth. The look on their face should be the very mildest form of what you should receive as compensation for this lazy and mean act.

If you don't believe that killing the dog *is* the point, why don't you try this experiment — deliver your pet to the pound sometime soon, and then call them three days later to see if she's been adopted. This was the point I was trying to make. If your idea of the point, JC, is about respect for an individual's space, respect for the public space, and respect for our canine friend, as was stated in your letter, then please tell me how respect is to be found anywhere in this world we have overrun and contained, where dogs are kept in cages until they are driven mad so 'people' can picnic without seeing a poop. My version of the word 'respect' carries a very different connotation.

Recently (I am sure many people have read about this) Animal Control put a cat to sleep within hours after its arrival at the pound, because it had been 'terrorizing' a human being (Mister, have you heard of using a broom to sweep them gently outside?). When the cat's owner heard that it might be *her* precocious feline behind bars (the *Olympian* did a humorous write-up of the incident), she rushed downtown to pick kitty up, only to find out that kitty was dead.

My heart (my *heart*, not my lecture about property lines) goes out to this anguished person who has lost her cat friend. I urge everyone who is disgusted by this incident to call either Concern For Animals or Olympic Wildlife Rescue, and to donate either time or money. Before we can eradicate institutions like Animal Control, we have to help provide safe spaces for the animals. This is the only kind of stewardship which makes room for all living beings. And it *was* living, feeling beings I was talking about in my article, not pretty fur purrtoys we collect and discard like baseball cards, chain and cage like victims of bondage, or destroy like refuse.

Terry Dunsmore

Q. – When is a cop not a cop?
A. – When he's an Animal Control Officer *disguised* as a cop.

This letter is regarding "The Policeman's Mission: To Serve, Protect, and Harass?" which appeared in WIP's March 1995 issue. In it, I complained of how the police were harassing me for leaving my canine companion tethered and sleeping on the sidewalk (gasp!) while I was browsing inside a downtown bookstore.

I've been kindly informed by Patrol Sergeant Keith Thuline of the Olympia Police Department that, in all likelihood, it was not his department but rather the local Animal Control folks who had been doing the harassing.

This is quite possible; I just saw the militaristic uniform, the shiny badges, and the threatening, haughty mannerisms and assumed: "This guy must be a cop."

So, I'm writing this letter to apologize to All my friends in the OPD, if I erroneously slandered them. Sorry, guys. (No apologies to Animal Control, though.)

Most sincerely, Bill Wunkle

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"The devil loves nothing better than the intolerance of reformers." Lowell
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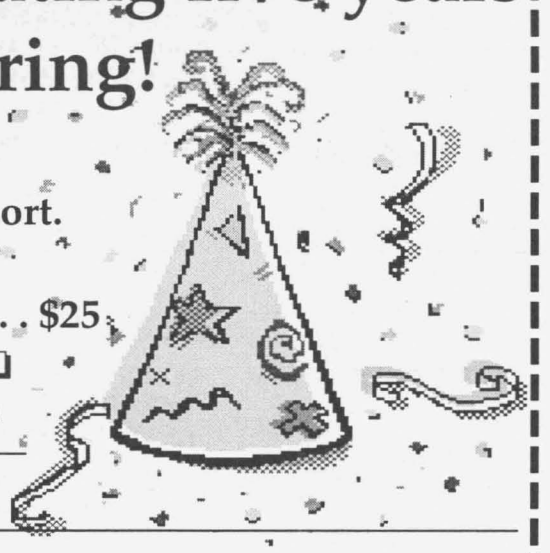

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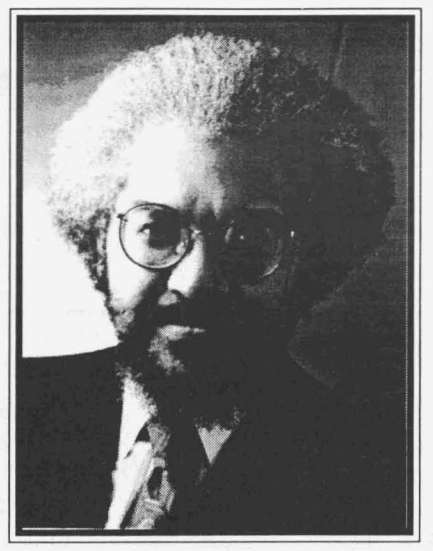
Along the Color Line

The Changing Politics of Race



Dr. Manning Marable

Everywhere we turn today, the headlines and the media seem to be preoccupied with the politics of race. Sometimes the politics of race is obscured in an aesopian language, in which the victims and the predators are half-hidden or even inverted; sometimes on late-night talk shows or even racialized films, the politics of race which are addressed through personalities or issues connected with the black community come under vicious attack or parody.

In recent weeks and months, the politics of race has been expressed through a variety of issues and events: for example, affirmative action and minority set-aside programs are publicly attacked as policies promoting "reverse discrimination"; the televised trial of former football superstar O.J. Simpson continues to fascinate millions of Americans, with its burlesque mixture of interracial sex, double-homicide, spousal abuse, and police misconduct; welfare programs are under new scrutiny, with calls for mandatory work by AFDC recipients, and demands to outlaw support to unwed mothers under the age of eighteen; and new restrictions are being pushed on nonwhite immigrants, from the denial of access to public medical services to the imposition of "English Only" language requirements. "Race" thus continues to be central to American politics, but its definition and meaning are being radically transformed.

One reason for this is the massive migration of millions of Latin American, Caribbean, Asian and African people into the U.S., as well as in Western Europe, since the 1960s. The influx of these new minorities in Europe has meant the breakdown of older racial identities and communities. For example, in the United Kingdom by the 1970s, immigrants from the Caribbean, Asia and Africa of radically divergent ethnic backgrounds and languages began to term themselves "black", as a political entity. In the U.S., the search for both disaggregation and rearticulation of group identity and consciousness among people of color is also occurring, although along different lines due to distinct historical experiences and backgrounds. In the Hawaiiian islands, for example, many of the quarter million native Hawaiians support the movement for political sovereignty and self-determination. But do native Hawaiians have more in common culturally and politically with American Indians or Pacific islanders? What are the parallels and distinctions between the discrimination experienced by Mexican Americans in the U.S. Southwest and African-Americans under slavery and Jim Crow segregation? Do the more than five million Americans of Arab, Kurdish, Turkish and Iranian nationality and descent have a socioeconomic experience in the U.S. which places them in conflict with native-born African-Americans, or is there sufficient commonality of interest and social affinity which provides the potential framework for principled activism and unity?

Similar questions about social distinctions rooted in mixed ethnic heritages and backgrounds could be raised within the black community itself. At least three out of four native-born Americans of African descent in the U.S. have to some extent a racial heritage which is also American Indian, European, Asian and/or Hispanic. Throughout much of the Americas, racial categories were varied and complex, reflecting a range of social perceptions based on physical appearance, color, hair texture, class, social status and other considerations. In the U.S. prior to the Civil Rights Movement, with a few exceptions, the overwhelmingly dominant categorization was "black" and "white". In the late 1970s, the Federal government adopted a model for collecting Census data based on four "races"—black, Asian, American Indian and white — and two ethnic groups — Hispanic and non-Hispanic — which could be of whatever "racial" identity. Today, all of these categories are being contested and questioned. Some of the hundreds of thousands of African-Americans and whites who intermarry have begun to call for a special category for their children -"multiracial". By 1994, three states required a "multiracial" designation on public school forms, and Georgia has established the "multiracial" category on its mandatory state paperwork. The "multiracial" designation if popularized and structured into the state bureacracy, could have the dangerous effect of siphoning off a segment of what had been the "black community" into a distinct and potentially privileged elite, protected from the normal vicissitudes and ordeals experienced by black folk under institutional racism. It could become a kind of "passing" for the twenty-first century, standing apart from the definition of blackness. Conversely, as more immigrants from the African continent and the Caribbean intermarry native-born black Americans, notions of what it means to be "black" become culturally and ethnically far more pluralistic and international. The category of "blackness" becomes less parochial and more expansive, incorporating the diverse languages, histories, rituals and aesthetic textures of new populations and societies.

Any movement for black empowerment in the future must take into account the full dimensions of the ethnic and social transformation occurring now inside the U.S., reframing our agenda to take into account these new populations. We can only win the battle for equality if we have courage to build a strategy of coalitions and multicultural dialogue, mobilizing others against white conservatism. We can defeat the politics of race, only if we recognize how the color line is being transformed.

Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of History and Director of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies, Columbia University, New York City. "Along the Color Line" appears in over 275 newspapers and is featured by 80 radio stations internationally. ◆

The "multiracial" designation...could have the dangerous effect of siphoning off a segment of what had been the "black community" into a distinct and potentially privileged elite, protected from the normal vicissitudes and ordeals experienced by black folk under institutional racism.

Become a Founding Member of the Olympia Political/Cultural Center

We are seeking 100 individuals to contribute $10 a month towards the establishment and on-going expenses of a Political/Cultural Center in Olympia, tentatively scheduled to open in the fall of 1995. Groups, unions, and organizations will be asked to contribute more.

We anticipate needing money to cover the costs of rent and utilities. Additional funds are needed for stocking the Center with supplies and incidentals such as tables, chairs, shelves, etc.

The Center recently received a $500 award from the Community Sustaining Fund towards this endeavor. This money will be spent on start-up costs. In October of 1995, Noam Chomsky will be giving a lecture in Olympia, all of the proceeds will go towards the operation of the Center.

If you or your group, organization, and union would like to become a supporter of this endeavor please write or call for information on the Political/Cultural Center at (360) 705-2726, or write OPCC PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295.

The Political/Cultural Center is committed to building a culture of resistance and solidarity based on respect, multiculturalism, empowerment, and the self-determination of all people. To that end, the Center is committed to challenging all forms of oppression and encouraging the participation of all people, particularly those who are marginalized by the dominant society. A major purpose of the Center will be to work for an Olympia community and a broader community that is inclusive, equal, and just.

The Political/Cultural Center is an open, accessible place for people to socialize, have fun, play music, watch films, listen to speakers, teach and learn, develop organizing skills, share food, dance, and display and see art. The Center promotes an alternative social and economic system based on meeting human needs, rather than the profit and wealth of a few. We seek to provide information, analysis, entertainment, art, and discussion that is not available from the mainstream media and institutions.

The Center is organized in a democratic manner that values the participation of all who share its principals. Members of the Center agree to share their skills and knowledge, and to make decisions in a non-hierarchical manner. The Center is committed to the principle that decisions should be made by the people who are likely to be affected by them.

Next meeting

Tuesday, May 16
7pm
Olympia Timberland Library

Issues to be discussed:

Funding, Tax Status, Grants, Location, Name

Shades of Racism

Jerome Johnson

I was out running errands with a friend of mine the other day. I'll call her Teri. Teri is poor, white, and has physical challenges. We usually meet once a month to pay bills, go shopping, make appointments and stuff. She's unable to drive, so we take my car and she chips in gas money.

We pulled up to a small store I know. When I parked Teri smiled and said, "Hey, great, I'll get some cigarettes."

"Okay, I'll wait," I said. She gave me a funny look, but went in and bought her cigarettes. When she got back I started the car and moved back into traffic. She asked, "You pulled into the store but didn't get anything?"

"Who was working?"

She shrugged. "Some Oriental woman."

"Older or younger?"

"Older." A knowing look came into her blue eyes. "Oh, so that's it! Got you eye on her daughter, eh?"

"I wouldn't go that far," I said, signaling and changing lanes. "But she's nice and we chat a little whenever I go there."

"Well, you coulda gone in," Teri said. "It's not like *we're* married or anything."

"I know," I answered. We stopped at a light, and I looked at her. "But I also know how you are."

She sighed. "Jerome, if you want to date a slant-eyed—"

"Teri!"

"I'm sorry," she said, "I'm trying — but it just slipped out."

The light changed and I didn't say anything, so she plunged ahead. "If you want to date an Oriental, that's your business."

I didn't say much after that. We were almost finished, and when I dropped her off she paused at the car door. "I really am sorry about what I said, Jerome."

"I believe you," I said. I put the car in park and took my foot off the brake. "But it's not just what you say, it's how you think and act. I know it's not easy to overcome a lifetime of racism, Teri, and you've done well in the time that I've known you. I'm confident that you'll totally overcome it. But you've got to remember: calling someone else a gook or a faggot or a cracker is the same as calling me a nigger. Think about it okay?"

She nodded contritely. "Okay." She dug into her picket and came up with crumpled bills, straightened them. "Here's gas money. Can I call you later, talk some more?"

"Uh-huh."

I headed home, thinking. Teri felt right at home with me, as she does with other blacks. She gets along just fine with other minorities — but she still struggles with homophobia and racism against people of Asian/Pacific heritages. To her credit, she's working on it. When we talked later, she told me that an Oriental — she wasn't sure of his heritage — had hurt her as a child, and this combined with growing up as a white female, formed her anti-Asia bias.

"But," I asked, "What about blacks and everyone else?"

"Oh, they're fine," she said. "They're Americans."

After our conversation I worked in my yard, still thinking. This notion of selective racism is new to me. I'm more used to your basic bigot: hate one, hate 'em all (blacks, Jews, Natives, Asian/Pacific, Lesbian/gay/bi/trans, et. al.) I first noticed it as homophobia in the black community, and it seems to be getting more common. For instance, 12% of blacks voted for the heinously racist Proposition 187 in California. "We need these services for Americans," interviewees said. "There's only so much of the pie to go around, and we need to get our share."

If we truly care about Americans, let's give the continent back to the Natives Americans.

Why not bake a bigger pie so that *everyone* can have a share? ◆

This notion of selective racism is new to me. I'm more used to your basic bigot: hate one, hate 'em all...

Universal Design Holds Promise

Carol Simila-Dickinson

C'mon now, admit it: Sometimes you use ramps, curb cuts, automatic doors, and elevators when given a choice. There's no need to feel guilty about it - *we all do!*

Designing products and facilities so that people who have limited strength or mobility can safely and easily use them benefits everyone, because everyone starts out short and weak, has someone in their family who at some time experiences illness or a temporary or permanent disability, and, if they're lucky enough to live to a ripe old age, they end up relatively weak again.

Universal design is a concept that evolved from a need to design facilities and consumer products that can be used by anyone, with or without disabilities. The architect who coined the term, Ron Mace, says "Universal design is good design for all people."

In the past, designs for "the masses" were actually targeted toward a fairly narrow population. An obvious example is car seats, as any short person who has sat with a shoulder harness across their throat knows. According to Diane Pilgrim, Director of the Smithsonian's Museum of Design, "Design should be for as many people as possible, and it hasn't been." Laws and policies such as the Americans with Disabilities Act are changing the requirements for design. Attitudes are also changing among civic planners who want to include as many members of the community as possible in all activities.

One example is crosswalks. Curb cuts allow people in wheelchairs to use sidewalks. Broad zebra stripe markings are easy for people with visual impairments to distinguish. Audio traffic signals *(chirpers* and *tweeters)* and textured crosswalks enable blind people to cross safely. Traffic lights that allow enough time for the *slowest* pedestrians to cross assure their safety.

Universal or *barrier free* design is helping American products compete globally, since there is a world-wide market for items such as scissors that can be used by people who can't grip tightly, dishes with a rubberized stay-put bottom so that people can eat with one hand, easy-to-hold cups and glasses, and the thousands of computerized products known as *assistive technology*. Many U.S. companies are leading the world in this form of democracy.

Universal design is *a concept that evolved from a need to design facilities and consumer products that can be used by anyone, with or without disabilities. The architect who coined the term, Ron Mace, says "Universal design is good design for all people."*

While universal design offers solutions to problems of access, it does not insist that just one solution must fit all. The *user* defines the use and obstacles of any product or structure, and the designers adjust the plans so that they fit the needs. When incorporated from the design stage on, this approach is not costlier than past design methods, and is much cheaper than going back to redesign and rebuild later on. The promise of universal design is a world where everyone fits in.

To Learn More...

A new exhibit on "Breaking Down Barriers: Technology for People with Disabilities" is on permanent display at the Oregon Museum of Science and Industry (OMSI) in Portland. It features 30 hands-on exhibits that allow visitors to try out traditional and barrier-free home and office environments. Wheelchairs are available for those who don't bring one.

Museum hours are 9:30 am to 5:30 pm Sunday through Wednesday, and 9:30 am to 9:00 pm Thursday and Friday. OMSI is located on the east side of Portland's Willamette River waterfront at 1945 SE Water Avenue. Admission charge is $7 for adults, $6 for seniors, $4.50 for children ages 3-17, and free for children 2 and under and for OMSI members. For information, call (503) 797-4000. ◆

Sound Out

Monthly Bisexual, Gay, Lesbian, Trans Peoples' Publication for the South Sound Area

Look for Sound Out at area merchants or subscribe and receive it by mail!

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Olympia, WA 98507
(360) 534-4563

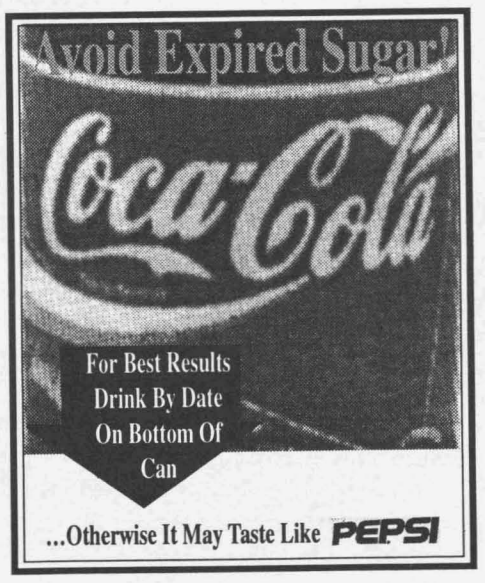
SOUTH SOUND GREEN PAGES

South Sound's Monthly Environmental Newspaper

Green Pages is a forum for individuals and organizations concerned about the integrity of our environment and the quality of life in our community.

Look for Green Pages at area merchants or subscribe and receive it by mail!

Published by South Puget Environmental Education Clearinghouse (SPEECH) (360) 786-6349
218 West 4th Ave, Olympia, WA 98501



Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace

2nd and 4th Tuesdays

May Meetings

- Tues May 9th 7pm
  TESC LIB 2219
- Tues May 23rd 7pm
  Olympia Timberland Library

Call 956-1771 for information.

An interview with one practitioner of the daring, direct, naughty (but necessary) art of Billboard Improvement

SCRAWL of the WILD

Ms. Demeanor:

Graffiti is nothing new...

For literally millennia, thinking women and men have left their thoughts around for others to read and reflect upon. From cave walls to bathroom stalls, this form of communication is part and parcel of civilised culture. Billboard improvement is part of that long legacy.

The following is from a *Secret Interview*, conducted over coffee at a popular, smoke-free establishment, in a soggy, West Coast city, which is growing like a malignant tumor. For obvious reasons, both writer and source have chosen to remain anonymous. It should be noted that by running this piece, *Works In Progress* neither condones nor condemns this unruly behaviour...We recognise that this is indeed an *Illegal Activity*, but then again, so are *a lot* of things in today's Busy, Busy World, and we forever strive to present you, Dear Reader, with a range of progressive news and views. To revisit the time-tested cliche: "Desperate times call for desperate measures" (and if you think our societal situation doesn't quite qualify as "desperate", all's I can tell yous is: "Hang on, Honey, 'cuz we ain't seen nutin' yet!")

Ms. Demeanor: How'd you get started with this... I mean, what was your initial awakening and inspiration?

Mr. BIG *(Billboard Improvement Guy):* I was a recovering drug addict, the hard stuff. I also had an alcohol problem. Dad smoked, I smoked. I felt *oppressed by ads* which tried to encourage me to buy the very products I was struggling to kick. It seemed I just couldn't get away from them... we all have to walk around outside. Other avenues of getting my voice heard weren't big enough...I've tried protest flyers and petitions, and that just wasn't big enough, so I started doing political graffiti.

Ms. Demeanor: So, your targets are primarily the drug-pushing billboards?

Mr. BIG: Yeah, that and animal products. There's less education out there about not eating animals than there is about the dangers of alcohol and cigarettes. 90% of the billboards are promoting unhealthy products... if their product was good, they wouldn't *have* to advertise it! Nobody's advertising "LOVE" or "Hot Oatmeal"...

Ms. Demeanor: So, I gather you're a vegetarian? For how long now?

Mr. BIG: I started excluding red meat from my diet about nine years ago, and I've been totally meat-free for 3 or 4 years now. An ex-girlfriend of mine was a vegan, and she turned me on to that lifestyle. I've been vegan for a year-and-a-half.

Ms. Demeanor: Explain what you mean by that...

Mr. BIG: Veganism means that I try to eat *no* animal products.

Ms. Demeanor: Tell us some more about your motivations... obviously, this is a pretty risky business! Why *do* you do billboards today?

Mr. BIG: For me, it's like a constant struggle, or warfare, against huge Corporations and their products. I think I'm fighting for the public environment that we live in, and the *right* to reject what They can push into our lives, the *right* to be free from Their influence.

Ms. Demeanor: Wouldn't it be easier just to try to ignore the advertising which you find offensive?

Mr. BIG: Yeah, but you *can't* ignore it! People read it anyway.

Ms. Demeanor: Elaborate on that...

Mr. BIG: My billboards are meant to both entertain people and get them to *think* about what they're seeing... I hope to get them to think. The whole advertising image and the ad are made for you to *accept* the product... to *desire* the product. I try to reverse that, and make the product seem repulsive, or use it to create my own message. Sometimes, I just try to put back the logical information which should be there... twist it around to put my spin on things.

Ms. Demeanor: So, do you see yourself as being analogous to a "Truth-Teller", removing the smoke and mirrors of advertising to reveal what's underneath?

Mr. BIG: Yeah, that's basically what it's all about... bringing the Truth to advertising.

Ms. Demeanor: Any particular visual artists who have influenced you?

Mr. BIG: Years ago, I came across a small booklet published by the underground press, called: **The Art & Science of Billboard Improvement**. That helped encourage me to try it. I also remember seeing a particularly effective billboard near my hometown... it was an advertisement for Corona Beer, and had these beer bottles made out to be like they were Roman columns. The wording originally said: **The Pillars of Society,** but someone cleverly had changed that to read **The** *PILLAGE* **of Society!** I thought that was really cool... it showed me just how simple, yet effective, billboard improvement can be. I was hooked!

Ms. Demeanor: *IF* someone wanted to take up billboard beautification in their own neighborhood, what would you suggest they need to start out... what are the vital tools of the trade?

Mr. BIG: *SPRAYPAINT, Man!* And it helps if you can recruit some trustworthy friends to help you. A crew of three people is the best, with two working on the billboard, and a look-out on the ground.

Ms. Demeanor: What's your favourite colour spraypaint?

Mr. BIG: Probably deep Midnite Blue, or Baby Blue. By the way, Housepaint is useful, too... it's best for re-doing really *big* areas. Another possible tactic is using wheat-paste to post over the original sign...you can go up and get the measurements one night, and return at another time with the prepared signs and posting glue. When you get right down to it, your creativity is the only limit to the possibilities waiting out there!

Ms. Demeanor: I can't help but wonder... are there any other *BIP*s (Billboard Improvement Persons) in the community, or are you the only one?!

Mr. BIG: I know of at least half-a-dozen practicing Billboard-Revisionists out there, and our numbers are growing!

Ms. Demeanor: Any certain colours or brands you recommend, or does that just vary with the job?

Mr. BIG: *Krylon* is the best brand, it doesn't run as much. I usually stick to solid whites and solid blacks—other colours don't stand out as well... *contrast* is important.

Ms. Demeanor: Any other tips for beginning Billboard Enthusiasts?

Mr. BIG: Yeah... Pick targets that are *important* to you. Go out late at night. Plan an escape route, too, if at all possible. Try to have an alibi, like "taking pictures"; "watching birds"; "enjoying the view"...*etc.*

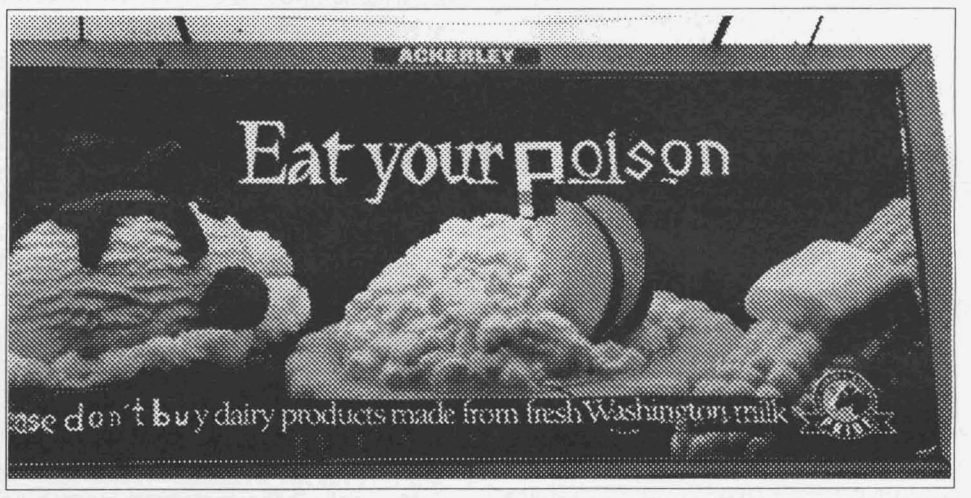
Ms. Demeanor: - Hmph! Got any final, pithy advice on technique?

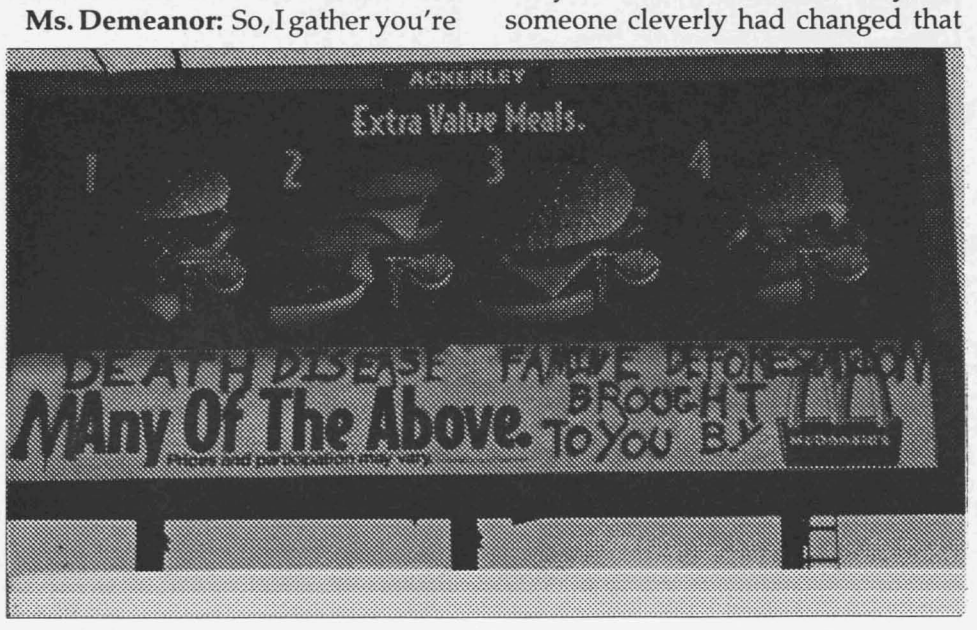
Mr. BIG: Look for *slight* alterations you can make which change the meaning of the sign and make it your own sign. Wear dark clothing, stuff that you can afford to get dirty. Learn safety rules; secrecy rules; who you can *trust*.

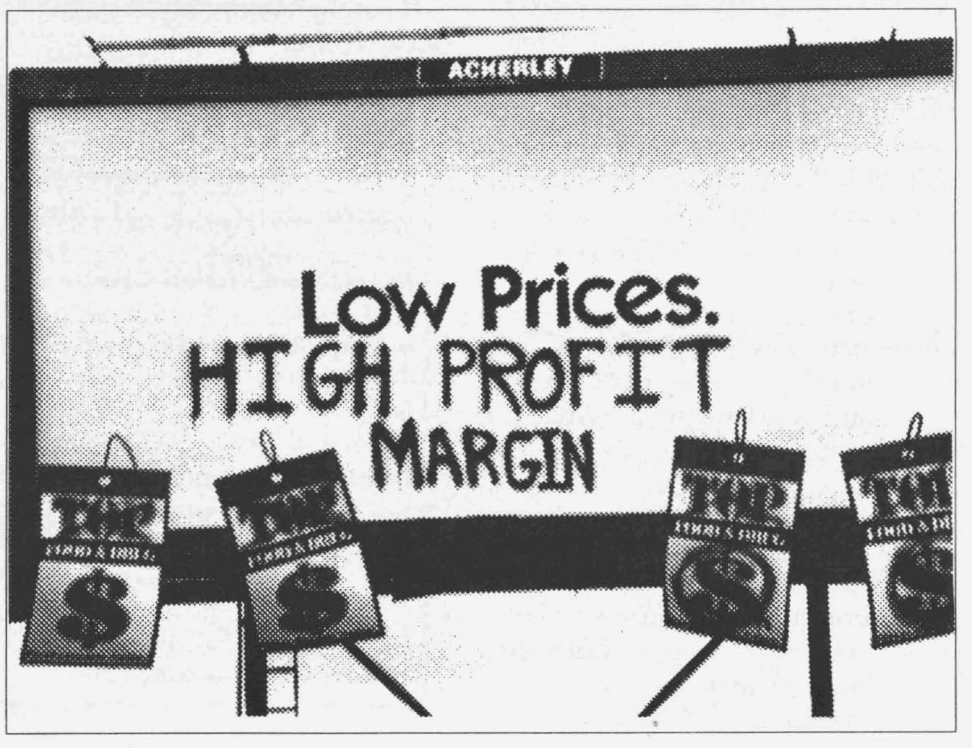
Ms. Demeanor: Those sound like wise words for anyone! ...well, I think that about covers it. Thanks for your time and efforts, Mr. BIG.

Best o'luck with your future projects, watch your back, and *Happy "Birdwatching"*, everyone!!! ◆

90% of the billboards are promoting unhealthy products... if their product was good, they wouldn't* have *to advertise it! Nobody's advertising "LOVE" or "Hot Oatmeal"...







Interview with Delores Huerta

Working for the UFW

Bob Burtman

The plight of farm workers in North Carolina hasn't changed much over the years. Their wages are low — many earn as little as $5,000 a year. Most have no pension plan, medical insurance, job security, sick leave, paid holidays or vacations. Some, as *The Independent* revealed in 1991, work as virtual slaves for unscrupulous crew leaders.

The name most closely associated with the struggle of American farm workers for decent wages and working conditions is the late Cesar Chavez. But anyone familiar with the movement also knows Dolores Huerta, who co-founded the United Farm Workers with Chavez and has been a tireless fighter for the cause ever since.

Huerta, who has been arrested 22 times and was brutally beaten by police in 1988 as she picketed a George Bush fund raiser, is spreading the word about the current union boycott against California grapes as a way to leverage pesticide reform.

She's also helping the union expand into new territory — the UFW just established an office in Atlanta.

For her 40 years of organizing people in need, Huerta was recently elected to the Women's Hall of Fame and was awarded The American Civil Liberties Union Medal of Liberty.

The Independent caught up with Huerta during a recent stop in the Triangle.

The Independent: How *long before we see the UFW doing organizing work in North Carolina?*

Dolores Huerta: I would think at the end of this year. Right now we're talking about building a national union. We're organizing in Texas, we're organizing in Florida. We want to build up those two strong bases and then move inward.

We have developed a program that allows farmworkers to become associate members of the union. They don't have to be under a union contract to become members. Under this program, farmworkers can come in and get services, whether it's an for an injury or immigration problems or whatever.

Then we have benefits for the workers: They can get a VISA card — it's hard for farmworkers to get credit; we negotiate with some of the drugstore chains to give members a discount on prescriptions; and for those workers from Mexico, we have a contract with the Mexican government so workers can get full medical benefits for their families [in Mexico] for $300 a year.

We're now expanding the program into upstate New York, in Florida, in Texas, and we also want to start here in the South. We have staff in Atlanta that's been working for about two months.

Except for the places where we have been extremely active like California, most of the states have very few legislative protections for farmworkers. For instance, in most they do not have unemployment insurance, which is something other workers have had for the last 40 or 50 years. And they don't have worker's compensation, or they have a $1,000 cap, or they have no type of insurance whatsoever. You don't have any type of collective bargaining [agreement]. The only state that has that is California.

In terms of pesticide protections, the "right to know" — what pesticides are actually being sprayed — is legislation that's badly needed. We're not saying stop spraying, we're saying let us know what's being sprayed. If there's no method for registration or reporting what pesticides are being used, then the farmworker doesn't know, the public doesn't know. And often the growers who are using them do not understand the dangers.

If there's no method for registration or reporting what pesticides are being used, then the farmworker doesn't know, the public doesn't know, and often the growers who are using them do not understand the dangers.

The farmworkers in North Carolina are covered by federal legislation, primarily the Seasonal Agricultural Worker Protection Act, which is supposed to protect workers when they work under crew leaders and labor contractors. Unfortunately, in most places the act isn't enforced. You also have the OSHA standards, the toilets in the fields and what have you. But again, our experience has been that unless you have a union contract or some legal services person breathing down the neck of the grower, in most cases they aren't enforced either. So you can expect that most times farmworkers won't even have those minimal protections.

Now the Clinton administration is starting to backtrack on some of the stuff that's been passed on the federal level. They're saying OK, let's phase out some of these bad pesticides, and do like a 20-year phaseout, so that means people have to live with some of this stuff for the next 20 years.

You mentioned the federal protection against crew leaders. We've just seen the conviction of Carrie Bonds, a crew leader who worked with sweet-potato pickers in Benson. She and her family were holding farmworkers in indentured servitude. Bonds is gone for now, but she's the norm, not the exception. How can we talk about unionization, worker's comp, and vacation benefits if we're still dealing with slavery?

When you talk about slavery, it's *true* all over. We've even had cases in California *with* farmworkers who were found in bondage. You have *to* think in terms of long-term results, yet try to give farmworkers some type of immediate relief. Farmworkers are not hard to organize. People want to come together. People want to better themselves. There's a certain element of fear there, but once you overcome that fear, people will come together.

If someone were to say to me, what would you do to help the sweet-potato pickers, I would talk to them and ask them what they want me to do. I would follow their direction. You start from the bottom up. You go to the workers.

We have to think in terms of how you organize without jeopardizing the lives of the workers. In our union we've had five martyrs, people who have been killed for attempting to organize.

If I was going to go out and help sweet-potato pickers in North Carolina, I would be damn sure that I was going to do it in a way that was going to help them and not jeopardize them. You don't go out there and disturb people's lives and put them in jeopardy unless you know that there's probably going to be a [positive] outcome. In other words, when we ask people to come out on strike and leave their jobs, then we know that we're going to have benefits to sustain them, we're gonna have a support system, and we know we'll have a good chance of winning. You're not gonna go in there and give people false hopes and false expectations. You have to be honest with people.

People in the Triangle, and I would guess in most cities, don't have much direct exposure to farm issues. Does this make your job harder?

Right now in your produce markets you have anywhere from a 400 to 800 percent markup on produce. I've negotiated contracts, and I know what it costs to pick the fruit. For instance, you go into a supermarket you have to pay 59 cents a pound or something like that for a bell pepper. You can't even calculate, like $.000001, the amount of money the farmworker is paid to pick that bell pepper.

Our country right now, people don't really understand food. We don't understand where it comes from. A whole generation of farmers is almost gone. Very few people know how to produce their own food. So if the supermarket closes down, then people starve, right? We think about that, and we think about who controls the food supply, and what a very dangerous position the American consumer is in right now. In California, for instance, the major [agribusiness] corporations own about 97 percent of the farmland. This is worse than some Central American countries. That is a very, very scary proposition. One company, like Dole, they hire over 20,000 farmworkers. *One company.* And 4,000 workers is not uncommon.

We were just talking this morning about what they charge for a box of CornFlakes. When my kids were little, we paid 27 cents for a box of CornFlakes. Now, 20 years later, we're paying $4 a box for CornFlakes. The American consumers are getting totally ripped off. We're not looking at that. We're not focusing on what is happening to our food supply and how vulnerable we are, and how we have no control over it. And your family farmers are being wiped out left and right. They're being wiped out by big agribusiness.

What would you suggest for people who want to help area farmworkers improve their lives and opportunities?

I think that anything that can help the United Farmworkers remain a strong, viable organization, to help us in our organizing, will eventually help workers here, too. ◆

Dolores Huerta Coming To Olympia

The Olympia Farm Worker's Justice Committee is honored to have Dolores Huerta of the United Farm Workers of America coming to our community.

May 12 at the Evergreen State College Library Lobby
5:30 pm fiesta and live music, 7:00 pm speech

Dolores Huerta is co-founder with Cesar Chavez and Vice President of the United Farm Workers of America, AFL-CIO.

For over thirty years Dolores has ceaselessly struggled to win social justice for farm workers who are among this country's most exploited laborers. Huerta has faced down burly company goons on tense picketlines and has been arrested nearly twenty-two times, with no convictions, for union activity.

In recognition of her courage and dedication, Dolores has been awarded several national honors, including the ACLU's 1993 Roger Baldwin Medal of Liberty Award and the National Organization for Women's 1994 Women of Courage Award. She was also inducted into the National Women's Hall of Fame in 1993.

Dolores will speak about the status of the farm worker movement and the role the UFW plays in that movement. She will also talk about the recent backlash against immigrants, as reflected in the passage of California's Proposition 187.

Please contact Sheila Payne at the UFW's Olympia office at (360) 352-2153 if your group can co-sponsor this event.

LIVE National Lesbian/Gay/Bi/Trans Town Meeting on the Radical Right

WIP News Services

On Sunday, May 7th, South Sound community members are invited to tune to K.A.O.S. Olympia Community Radio 4:00 - 8:00 p.m. to hear a live, very special local and national town meeting on the religious right, homophobia and the new political landscape we are now confronting. KAOS radio, located at The Evergreen State College, is at 89.3 FM on the dial. For TCI subscribers who have a cable connection to their stereos, it is located at 98.3 FM.

The town meeting will discuss an increasingly confident anti-Gay reactionary movement expecting their agenda to be fully supported by the new federal government. The new Republican majorities are led by Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich who has promised to make good on a pledge to anti-Gay professional homophobe Rev. Lou Sheldon of the Traditional Values Coalition to hold congressional hearings on "the homosexual influence in education." And initiatives across the country are gaining steam to take away any previous gains in civil rights for Queers and ban any future protections.

The four hour special will begin with a one hour local segment at 4:00 p.m. Panelists will include Meredith Savage, Co-Chair of the Thurston County Hands Off Washington, Anna Schlecht, anti-hate activist and openly Lesbian candidate for Olympia City Council, Brian Pyeatt and Greg Carpenter both from Sound Out newspaper. The first hour will focus on recent hate activity in the Pacific Northwest, including an assault on two teenage high school boys in the Olympia area, the re-emergence of the statewide Initiatives that would legalize discrimination, Initiative 166 sponsored by the misnamed "Committee for Equal Rights, Not Special Rights," and Initiative 167 sponsored by the "Citizens Alliance of Washington," and the connection between right-wing organized hate groups and anti-Queer violence.

On Sunday, May 7th, South Sound community members are invited to tune to K.A.O.S. Olympia Community Radio 4:00 - 8:00 p.m. to hear a live, very special local and national town meeting on the religious right, homophobia and the new political landscape we are now confronting.

At 5:00 p.m. the National Lesbian and Gay Radio Town Meeting will be broadcast live via satellite, first identifying on a national level, the leaders of the anti-Gay feeding frenzy, their tactics, their level of success, and counter-organizing now and in the future. A distinguished panel will include:

Peter LaBarbera, a Christian Fundamentalist and editor of "The Lambda Report on Homosexuality," a newsletter that monitors the activities of the "homosexual" rights movement in America.

Mandy Carter, an African American staffer at the Human Rights Campaign Fund, where she coordinates the National Call to Resist Campaign for the National Black Gay and Lesbian Leadership Forum, countering the radical right in the black community.

Rich Tafel, an ordained minister and executive director of the "Log Cabin Republicans," a national Republican organizing group scorned by both anti-Gay right wingers and leftist leaning Gays alike.

The national town meeting will provide an toll-free 800 number where audience members across the country can call in to participate. The National Lesbian and Gay Radio Town Meeting is produced by Bert Wylen, and he will co-host along with Julie Drizin, Pacifica Network News producer.

At 7:00 p.m., the program will reconvene locally to discuss what we heard from the National Town Meeting and to examine other issues of direct concern in our own community. Panelists for the last hour will include Gay Community Educator Curt Pavola and Evergreen Queer Alliance Activist and Radical Jules Sibbern. Panelist will also discuss recent legislative attacks on The Evergreen State College, it's newspaper – the Cooper Point Journal – and it's community radio station – K.A.O.S. – apparently based in part on displeasure with campus advocacy for open discussion about Queer issues and the acceptance and welcome of Queer individuals in the community. As in years past, some members of the State Legislature, primarily in the Republican controlled House, remain upset that the college is host to the Northwest International Lesbian/Gay Film Festival, and even over the existence of Queer Alliance Student Group.

The moderator for the local segments will be KAOS Development Director and programmer Tom Freeman. Tom will welcome phone calls from the community at 866-5267 during the 4 p.m. and 7 p.m. hours. Hope you will join this extremely important and thoughtful town meeting on Sunday, May 7th 4-8 p.m. on K.A.O.S., 89.3 FM.

HATE IS NOT A FAMILY VALUE! ◆

How to Support Evergreen

To Works in Progress readers:

The following are excerpts of a letter that were mailed to Alumni of The Evergreen State College and to the parents of current students. As a member of the Alumni Board of Directors, we are concerned about the well-being of the institution . -Tom Freeman

You may be aware of the current attack on The Evergreen State College which profoundly affects every student and every graduate. Not only is the institution itself under attack but the diplomas, resumes and careers of all graduates are threatened. Despite years of progress and outstanding national reputation our school once again has been singled out for criticism and unbalanced treatment...

The Washington State House of Representatives approved a state budget bill that singled out Evergreen from the other state four-year schools for deep cuts, elimination of enrollment increases, elimination of public service programs, and most insidious of all — a 28.5 percent tuition increase, none of which would return to Evergreen for improving services...

The Washington State Senate'sbudget proposal treats Evergreen more fairly...tuition increases that mirror those at other institutions. The House and Senate budgets will be reconciled into one final proposal which will define Evergreen's future in the next two years and beyond...

Please act now to support Evergreen by calling and writing your legislators. Ask your friends and family, Evergreen Alumni and Evergreen students to do the same. The easiest thing to do is call the legislative hotline immediately (1-800-562-6000) and express your strong support for the Senate budget proposal for The Evergreen State College. You can also call Representative Dale Foreman, House Majority Leader and Senator Nita Rinehart, Senate Ways and Means Committee...

Firmly and clearly explain how you feel. But please be polite; there are many very sympathetic representatives from both parties who just need a little encouragement. Don't accidently make an enemy out of a friend.

The Senate budget is practical, equitable, non-political and better for both Evergreen and the state. Please write or call and support the Senate version today.

The Evergreen State College
Alumni Association Board of
Directors

May Day '95

Songs of struggle
Songs of the earth

Monday, May 1st • 8pm
The Midnight Sun
Columbia Street near State
Downtown Olympia

A celebration of Beltane and International Workers Day
Music by Slip, Jess Grant, Rene Bressieux, and Betsy Welling, with non-traditional Wiccan Ceremony and a smorgasbord of radical thought.

The Hispanic Women's Network Presents

its 4th Annual

Cinco de Mayo Fiesta

Saturday, May 6, 1995
Noon to 6pm
The Olympia Center
222 N. Columbia

Free Admission
Live Entertainment • Children's Activities • Mercado (market) • Crafts • Traditional Foods

National Day of Massive Action to Defeat the Contract On America

May 6th

Seattle March Gather 12 Noon
Steinbruek Park
North of Pike Place Market
March to the Federal Building

All across the country there will be mass marches and rallies against the Contract.

Sponsored by National People's Campaign 1218 E. Cherry #201 Seattle, WA 98122 (206) 325-0085

7th Annual Farmworker Solidarity March

Sunday, May 7th, 1995
Meet at Burlington's Maiben Park at 11am

Carpool leaving Olympia 7:30am from Asterick

March to Skagit Valley comunity College in Mount Vernon

Rally • Music • Theater • Food

Unite with your fellow workers in the struggle for justice.

For info call 352-2153.

2nd Quarterly Community Potluck

for those interested in a progressive society based on justice and equality.

Saturday, May 13 • 6pm
United Churches
Union and 11th

Bring your own plates, cups and utensils.

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Tmamas

120 N. PEAR OLYMPIA, WA 98506 • RESERVATIONS 943 - 9849

4 Year Advertiser

BEST COFFEE IN TOWN !!!

Smithfield CAFE OLYMPIA

4 Year Advertiser

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Spring is time to weed, prune, design and plan your landscape naturally with an eye for beauty, & the birds.

Visit my great garden
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Willow Oling 352-8996

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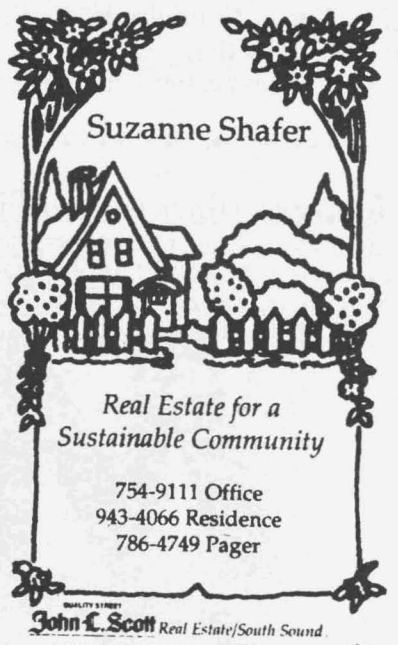

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Hip-Hop & Soul w/DJ Kwai FREE!

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Dance! Wed-Sun!

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SAT
Dancing d-lite w/DJ Bruce $2

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Scapegoating, stereotyping, and prejudice

Foul Business in Downtown Olympia

Barbara Brown and Emma Hendrickson

Chickens of the Realm

My mother told me stories of animals in the barnyard, many of which had broader implications for us seemingly higher order animals. For example, chickens in a coop have an almost human way of treating others who are different. When a chicken enters their domain bearing some physical flaw, its associates will, over time, in a cruel manner, peck, peck, and peck, peck, peck, and peck again, time after time, until the chicken finally dies. My mother explained that chickens may not know any better, but that we might.

In a similar vein, "when one group of human beings feels superior to another group because of differences in race, religion, sex, social status, or ethnic origin, a group attitude or mind-set shapes the thinking of the 'superior' group. Depending upon the intensity of feeling, a set of behaviors is adopted that express the attitude of being 'better than.' Political and economic strength determine the extent and the form that the acting-out will take." (Gabrielle Edwards, Coping with Discrimination)

From our observations, human hate grows from the intolerance of those who are different and without power, those who are designated inferior.

And once we start down the road of intolerance, we may enter the alley way of fanaticism. The most recent expression of intolerance was voiced by a minority group of people who own businesses within the downtown core of Olympia.

The following are direct quotes from letters directed to the City Council stating perceptions and fears of those who are homeless and transitional housing in the Fleetwood Building:

- "We...are AGAINST..."
- "I am against..."
- "I am very upset that you would consider moving a shelter for the homeless into the core section of our downtown."
- "In language that is not repeatable - I don't want a homeless shelter in our downtown core."
- "Maybe we should give them all of downtown Olympia and be done with it!"
- "...[S]uch a shelter...would have deleterious effect on the downtown business environment..."
- "Don't destroy this area for a shelter. I will be destroyed..."
- "...[W]omen who park...behind my shop have already experienced problems..."
- "There is no reason to be manipulated by them [homeless] or by those people who have made careers based on government money out of exploiting our guilty feelings."
- "Bringing transients in wheather (sic) they are homeless or not, doesn't look friendly..."
- "The 'homeless people' for whom the shelter is intended are apparently single men who are too unruly, drunk, or violent to abide by the rules of the Salvation Army."

There is, however, one implication by the definition of the term "homeless". It implies that a person who is homeless may need help....We can either choose to help or we can decide to erect barriers and discriminate, stereotype and scapegoat.

In order to build a bridge of understanding, let us characterize both groups in an analogous manner.

What is a business person?

A "business person" is a person who has a business. What does this mean? It means they sell something and if they are "successful business people" they are very good at "making a buck." "Business" means simply that, nothing more. It does not mean they are philanthropists, though they may choose to be. It does not mean they have a degree in sociology, though they might. They may be saints and they may be very self-serving, but the term "business", even "small business", implies neither.

Now, what is a homeless person? Obviously it strictly means a person who is without a home. Does it mean they are evil? No, it doesn't even suggest they are heavenly. It also does not indicate that they are violent, sexual perverts, that they are a danger to children, women, pets, older people, low-income people or even customers. The definition does not include the concept of ridding the community of crime by ejecting people who are homeless and financially troubled community members as they become homeless.

There is, however, one implication by the definition of the term "homeless". It implies that a person who is homeless may need help.

We can either choose to help or we can decide to erect barriers and discriminate, stereotype and scapegoat.

Discrimination

Stereotyping is "a false characterization designed to degrade the target group". People who are without homes in Olympia have been accused of being manipulative, violent, and irresponsible, of being a danger to women, children, pets, older people, low-income people, and others who are defenseless. Ronald Reagan described them as desiring to be homeless. None of this has any substantiation in fact. (Do people wonder if people without homes are safe from people with homes?)

In order to justify our actions, we practice scapegoating, the assignment of blame to groups that are without power for things that have gone wrong in our government or our communities. People without homes have been blamed for crimes that have or might happen in our community, they have been accused of destroying business and are denounced for their situation. On their shoulders has been placed our fears for our safety, our happiness and the ability to use parks.

"Discrimination," described by Gabriele Edwards, "is the continuous process of depriving a group of persons of their right to function fully in the community in which they live. It is the total process of isolating a group of humans, selected for some readily identifiable characteristic, and forcing them to live at the ragged edges of society barred from the mainstream of life." In Olympia, do we seek to provide the meanest, minimalist type of relief for homelessness? Would we rather provide shelter than housing? Would we rather denigrate or enable self respect? And would we rather dominate and support those with power than encourage democratic participation?

Are we chickens or are we humans?

Emma and Barbara both reside in the Olympia area. ◆

Letter received by City Council

If we allow or invite more low income to the downtown core, by giving them the Fleetwood bldg, we will also give them Sylvester Park, We will give up music in park and any other activity that goes on there.
I for one, and my family will quit using the Park.

Suzanne Dallidet
~~1516 4th~~

Maybe we should just give them all of Downtown Olympia, and be done with it!

Letter received by City Council

In language that is not repeatable- I do not want a homeless Shelter in our downtown Core.

Pat Hanson
& Don Nelson

Ken Harris
Closet

Congratulations on Five Years Works In Progress

Mix 96 fm
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"Soft Rock for the Great Northwest"

Rockway-Leland Bldg. • Downtown Olympia

Thurston County Rainbow Coalition and Works In Progress Present

A FLEETWOOD FORUM

Volume 1, Number 1 — May 1995

Introduction to A FLEETWOOD FORUM

Greg Hohnholt

The article I wrote in last month's *Works in Progress* entitled "Homeless Smear Campaign Targets Fleetwood," and the accompanying list of businesses purported to be "anti-Fleetwood," generated a notable amount of controversy. Pat Tassoni and I received several angry phone calls from downtown businesses, local TV journalist and videographer Carol Burns criticized me for polemicizing the debate and perhaps firing off a volley that would eventually send Shawn Newman and the Low Income Housing Institute (LIHI) into court for months of messy litigation, and Shawn Newman submitted a response to my article that, unfortunately, turns out to be one-third genuine response, one-third quotations from *A Nation in Denial,* and one-third unsubstantiated accusations against LIHI.

In short, I've witnessed and felt the building atmosphere of intolerance and mudslinging around the Fleetwood issue on both sides of the argument. I've come to the conclusion that the reason for this is that both sides have, to an ever-expanding extent, mythologized this issue and turned the Fleetwood into a Janus-faced symbol.

Distortions on both sides

To the Downtown Merchants, Shawn Newman, the Friends of Sylvester Park, and certain members of the Salvation Army Board of Directors, for example, it represents the collapse of the downtown retail core, a rise in panhandling and crime, and a general decay in the social fabric of Olympia. To homeless and low income housing advocates and perhaps to the homeless themselves, it represents the culmination of almost three years of struggle. This struggle started with the opening of the First Baptist Church's Men's Shelter, winding through countless meetings of the Homeless Services Committee and Housing Task Force forums, climaxed with last year's homeless occupation of Sylvester Park and LIHI's subsequent acquisition of the Federal Building, and wound up, after all the controversy *that* piece of real estate generated, a block away at the Fleetwood. After fighting for this long, for *some* response to Olympia's homelessness problem, it shouldn't surprise anyone that this group is wound up pretty tight about the Fleetwood.

After reflecting on all the arguments, however, I've concluded that both of these mythologies are indefensible. On one side, the Downtown Merchants want LIHI and the Fleetwood project stopped, but offer no alternatives to a problem that they themselves would like resolved. On the other side, LIHI and their advocates (myself included) have modified our stance on what is needed so often in order to placate the city council and business owners (from shelter in the Federal building to transitional housing in the same building to permanent housing in the Fleetwood), that the Fleetwood plan has been criticized for being confusing and somewhat contradictory in some respects.

This Fleetwood Forum I've edited has a simple aim. It's an attempt to get both sides to cut through their respective bullshit, figure out what's really needed to resolve the problem, and, most importantly, TO COMMIT TO GET THE JOB DONE *RIGHT* THROUGH HONEST DIALOGUE. I'm probably going to take some flak from my side for doing what will likely be construed as "giving aid and comfort to the enemy," but I'm willing to risk some heat if it means that this community can get together on resolving the very real concerns on both sides of the debate.

A rundown of the Forum

The forum begins with my response to the phone calls and comments Pat Tassoni and I received to last month's article, "Homeless Smear Campaign Targets Fleetwood". Next, I've printed the section of Shawn Newman's response that specifically responds to my article. The bulk of his response, however, was a condensation of his reaction to Alice S. Baum and Donald W. Burnes' *A Nation in Denial: The Truth About Homelessness* , and allegations regarding LIHI. I decided to fax Baum and Burnes a copy of Newman's response and a copy of the Fleetwood Fact Sheet that LIHI prepared for their March 16th community forum to see if the authors thought Newman had misrepresented their ideas. After speaking with the authors about Shawn Newman's response, and my perceptions of Olympia's problems with homelessness in general, I've decided to print Newman's response in full, along with a letter that Baum and Burnes wrote to me concerning their reaction to our conversations, and the items I faxed to them. In between these two pieces is a response that LIHI submitted, at my request, to Newman's allegations.

The Forum closes with a submission by Vince Brown, who is an attorney for Puget Sound Legal Assistance Foundation and also serves on the Housing Task Force, and some transcriptions excerpted from Carol Burns' video documentary "Olympia Journal," which are included here as a response to Dean Jones' and other business owners' contention that the homeless impact their businesses.

If there is sufficient interest in this format (and that means knowledgeable people sending in submissions to this publication), future editions will be printed. Comments regarding this edition of the Fleetwood Forum can be sent to the *Works in Progress* mailbox, or you can call me directly at 352-5780.

Some acknowledgements are in order before we begin. I wish to thank LIHI for faxing documents for me to Baum and Burnes, and to Baum and Burnes themselves for sharing their experience and expertise with me personally. Needless to say, I also thank the authors for permitting *Works in Progress* to allow me to share this letter with our readership. Last but not least, thanks to Carol Burns for her pioneering efforts with TCTV's "Olympia Journal," and for her constructive criticism of my work in *WiP*.

GREG'S RESPONSE TO BUSINESS OWNERS' CONCERNS

In last month's issue of *Works in Progress*, I wrote an article entitled "Homeless Smear Campaign Targets Fleetwood" that three downtown business owners (the owners of Proffit's Cafe, Dori Nelson of the Gallery, and Dean Jones of Four Season's Books) took issue with. Causing the most controversy was separate box which listed 47 business owners' names under the title "Anti-Fleetwood Petition Signers," which was compiled by Pat Tassoni, and which I approved for publication alongside my article. I believe that this was a regrettable and inaccurate choice for a headline, and that a clarification and apology is in order. The box also contained another headline, "Anti-Fleetwood Fax Senders," which is also demands clarification.

Dean Jones and Profitt's pointed out to me that both the petition and faxes in question did not have anything to do with the present Fleetwood permanent low income housing building proposal. In fact, the petition and faxes were in response to Emergency Habitat's now defunct proposal to use the Fleetwood building as a temporary shelter during the winter months. This fact should have been included in the preface that appeared above the list of names of businesses, and been made more prominent in the headline. We apologize to *WiP* readers who took the "Anti-Fleetwood" headline at face value, and withdrew their patronage from Proffitt's Cafe, or any other business on the list. We also apologize to Proffitt's owners, who, in fact, support the Fleetwood proposal, and allege that their business suffered losses from the list being printed.

Other concerns

There were two other concerns not specifically related to the list described above. Dean Jones took issue with my characterization of him as a "very visible opponent" of the Fleetwood (page 9, column 2, paragraph 2). He denied being a part of Shawn Newman's "Downtown Merchants," and insisted that his actions at the Community Forum, which included his suggesting that the Low Income Housing Institute be responsible for educating Four Seasons' customers who would be afraid to shop at his store if the Fleetwood were built, did not constitute 'opposition'. Dori Nelson, as far as I can make out from her phone call, was livid about being accused of sending a fax to the City Council when in fact she wrote a letter.

While I must admit that I was deferential to Dean Jones at the time of his phone call (April 10, about 5:30 PM), after some consideration, I believe that Jones was not being completely forthright about his position. Of all the business owners, Dean Jones is arguably the one who stands to lose the most from a possible boycott. Unlike many other business owners, Four Seasons' customer base includes a significant percentage of people who read this publication. So, in my opinion, Jones is trying to have his cake and eat it, too; i.e. cast doubt on the Fleetwood by supporting Newman's efforts from the sidelines, while claiming to be simply "asking questions" for the good of the community.

Nevertheless, I'm sympathetic to Jones' position—but only to a point. You need to realize that this mysterious entity known as the "Downtown Merchants" is a loose coalition that exists only on a retainer in Shawn Newman's office; it's not an incorporated entity that has to report to anyone. So even if Jones was, in fact, a member of the Downtown Merchants, technically he could say that he wasn't and not suffer any consequences for it.

If Jones is genuinely concerned about helping the Fleetwood debate become more effective, he needs to prove it by sticking his neck out a little. In other words, he should consider using his influence to get the "Downtown Merchants" to reveal who they are. This also means, however, that everyone else on the pro-Fleetwood side needs to be more responsible and well-informed about this issue before withdrawing their patronage from any downtown business. If everyone tries to be more tolerant of opposing viewpoints, we'll all be better off. Period. ◆

Newman's Response To Greg

Shawn Newman

I read with interest Greg Hohnholt's article *"Homeless Smear Campaign Targets Fleetwood"*. Before responding to Greg's article, I recommend anyone interested in the homeless issue read *A Nation in Denial - The Truth About Homelessness* (1993 by Alice Baum and Donald Burnes). The authors worked for years with the poor and homeless in Washington, D.C. and their book has received favorable reviews in *U.S. News and World Report* (November 8, 1993). It is recommended reading by such leaders as Senator Bill Bradley (D-NY) and Andrew M. Cuomo, Chairman of New York City's Commission on the Homeless.

Greg criticizes me and others for choosing "not to air their concerns at LIHI's *Community Forum* held on March 16". As for the nature and purpose of the LIHI meeting, it was independently arranged by city staff and LIHI without contacting me or my clients. It was advertised as an "Information meeting with Sharon Lee from LIHI" *not as a "community forum."* Dick Hinkle (who facilitated the meeting) told me that it was *"not a forum but an information session"*. Nevertheless, various business people did attend that meeting. When I learned of the meeting date, I told Ken Black (City Planning) and Ms. Lee that I would be out of town from March 15 to the 26 but would be willing to meet after I returned to work on the 27th.

As for Greg's claim that I never contacted LIHI, I met Ms. Lee and Linda Condon (Friends of Fleetwood/Emergency Habitat) and debated the merits of the project for several hours on March 8 on a local radio talk show. I phoned Ms. Lee's once before the show but she was out. I previously spoke with Linda Condon on March 6; WIP's Pat Tassoni on March 9; and met with state officials allied with LIHI on March 9. Greg had my phone number and a list of our concerns since March 1 and called me on March 21 when I was away. When I returned his call on Sunday, March 26, he told me he had written the article and said I was too late since the deadline was Friday (March 24). On Monday, March 27, I called Dick Hinkle (who facilitated the LIHI meeting) to inquire if he would be willing to moderate a panel discussion on the project with Ms. Lee, myself, a representative from Friends of Fleetwood and a representative from Friends of Sylvester Park. He said he would. I also called Ms. Lee on Monday, March 27, leaving a message. Although Ms. Lee had been in Olympia during that week, she did not return my call until Friday after 4:30pm. When I spoke with her she said she did not have time to talk since she needed to pick up her child at daycare. I also sent letters to the County Commissioners and City Council suggesting they sponsor a public forum.

Greg criticizes me for calling the Fleetwood Project a "shelter". Both *The Olympian* and County Officials (e.g. the Assessor) describe the project as a "shelter". What is and isn't a "shelter" is not clear but it certainly is something less than "transitional housing" which is defined under federal law as up to 24 months. LIHI's block grant application calculates support services over a two-year (24 month) period. [Application @ 23] It also states that designating some units as transitional units "remains an option" and will be left up to a community advisory committee to be established *"after* it is clear that the project will proceed". [Application @14]. According to LIHI, Fleetwood would be similar to their Arion Court facility in Seattle, were residents stay an average of about nine months. The Salvation Army allows individuals, under some circumstances, to stay up to 6 months. Any temporary or transitional housing would require a conditional use permit from the City. Despite Ms. Lee's public characterization of the project as "permanent/transitional", the project looks more like a shelter - 42 small units with shared bathrooms. LIHI and their supporters claim it is permanent housing because they want to avoid having to secure a conditional use permit.

Next, Greg criticizes me for stating that "73% of the Fleetwood residents will come from outside of *Thurston* County." First of all, let's get it straight, the petition states: " *While it is difficult to pinpoint where a homeless person comes from, the proposal provides that more than 73% will come from outside Olympia and more than 57% from outside of Thurston County."* Second, Greg doesn't deny those facts but simply states that *"LIHI plans work closely with local service providers and a Community Advisory Committee to ensure that local homeless individuals are served."* Third, the fact is LIHI has to establish that the majority of those being served are from *outside Olympia* to receive federal block grant funds.

WHO DOES FLEETWOOD SERVE?

According to their block grant proposal, *" The population to be served will include people suffering from mental illness, people living with AIDS, people disabled by chemical dependency, and people who are elderly, and veterans."* [Application @15]. The facility serves single adults - *not families, not single mothers, not single fathers, not married couples, not children.* In order to meet federal block grant criteria, LIHI has to establish that the majority of those served will be from outside of Olympia. Greg and others apparently believe that Fleetwood will take-in homeless who are denied access to the Salvation Army Shelter because of certain rules regarding alcohol, smoking, identification, violence, etc. What "rules", if any, LIHI proposes for this "self-managed" facility are unknown. ◆

Newman's Allegations About LIHI

Shawn Newman

The authors of *A Nation in Denial* argue that the word "homeless" is "inappropriate because it focuses on a single consequence for many people who are not receiving treatment for addictions to alcohol and drugs or for serious mental illness; we recommend, in fact, that we stop using the term." They point out that up to 85% of all homeless adults suffer the ravages of substance abuse and mental illness and state that simply giving them a place to live, without providing treatment, is *"analogous to simply providing a walking cane to someone who has suffered a broken foot without first resetting the bones in the foot and encasing the foot in a cast. "* In the case of homelessness, the authors argue, *"permanent, affordable housing is appropriate only after the immediate disabling conditions that prevent independent living have been treated."* [138]. *So, will* Fleetwood accept those rejected from the Salvation Army Shelter? Is rehabilitation really LIHI's goal?

Although LIHI's proposal cites support services valued at $88,800 over a two year period, most, if not all, of these services are already free and none involve alcohol or drug treatment. For example, Puget Sound Legal Assistance Foundation has committed $30,000 for *legal advocacy.* Although South Sound Advocates has committed $36,000 for services to the mentally ill, none of the service organizations cited by LIHI provide *treatment* for drug or alcohol addiction. In fact, the proposal is misleading on this point. For example, the proposal states that the "Olympia Aids Prevention Project has committed $7,200 for services to those with chemical dependency, mental health and lack of access to health care." [Application @23]. I called the Project [705-4753] and asked if they treat alcohol or drug dependency. I was told they don't "officially" treat chemical dependency but they have a needle exchange program.

Again, quoting from *A Nation in Denial* at page 184,

> When shelters house severely disabled individuals and provide no real care, these individuals produce litter in the form of empty liquor bottles, used drug paraphernalia, discarded trash, sometimes human waste, and other debris. Panhandling near shelters is annoying; bizarre behavior is frightening; drug transactions can involve danger; explicit sexual activity is inappropriate. To pretend that these things do not happen is yet another form of denial of the diseases of substance abuse and mental illness and their effects on behavior- To expect neighborhood residents or businesses to accept such behavior is naive. *Neighborhood opposition is not only understandable, but, quite frankly, appropriate....* [P]laces where alcoholics, drug addicts, and the mentally ill receive encouragement to enter treatment, such as intake shelters and drop-in shelters, should be located in neighborhoods easily accessible to street people *but not in business or restaurant districts or* in residential neighborhoods near schools and playgrounds.

CORPORATE WELFARE & THE "SHELTERIZATION INDUSTRY":

City Housing Official Ken Black has described LIHI as "a private developer wearing a nonprofit hat." According to *A Nation in Denial,* [page 80], the *"shelter-industrial complex"* or the *"shelterization* industry" actually exploits the homeless:

> The advocates, the sponsors, and the professional and volunteer staff of shelters have become a huge service industry, and now its members have a vested interest in perpetuating their own jobs, income, status, community recognition, and political power and prestige. "As a result," wrote the authors of one analysis, "shelter providers have unwittingly joined with politicians to maintain the status quo" that virtually guarantees the growth of the shelter industry."

The government spends billions per year for shelters and billions more for subsidized housing.

According to *A Nation in Denial* (page 183),

> Under the federal Steward B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act, by the end of fiscal year 1992, the federal government will have spent almost $3.2 billion since 1987 when the act was passed.... The funds specifically designated for alcohol and drug treatment and for mental health under the act were for demonstration and research projects, not for direct funding of treatment programs in general.

LIHI knows how the system works. They operate a number of publicly subsidized low income housing projects. According to their grant proposal, "HUD has committed 10 years or $1,170,000 of McKinney Section 8 Mod Rehab funds for rental assistance." The total project cost for Fleetwood is $2.9 million. The project calls for 42 small one-bedroom units at a cost of nearly $70,000 per unit. *The Olympian* accurately portrayed the cost as *"terribly expensive"*. These $70,000 units don't have their own bathrooms (I *understand that LIHI has recently proposed revising its design to have bathrooms in each unit).* LIHI also requests that *"all funding be in the form of grants or deferred loans which can be forgiven over time. "* [Application @15]. Ironically, the day WIP's April Issue came out, [Friday, March 31] *NBC's Dateline* program exposed the extensive fraud and abuse in the Federal Section 8 rental assistance program. Despite the good intentions, Section 8 ends up to be corporate welfare for developers, including LIHI.

LIHI's Response to Newman's Allegations

Sharon Lee and Ginger Segel

In March of 1994 the Low Income Housing Institute (LIHI) along with Catholic Community Services (CCS) received a request to help develop housing for homeless people in Olympia. LIHI was invited into the Olympia community because of the concerns around the lack of affordable housing. The invitation came on the heels of 'tent city.' On March 1st, 1994, Thurston County had lost 35% of its shelter beds due to the closing of the First Baptist Church Temporary Men's Shelter (65 beds and Emergency Overflow Shelter (15 beds). These 80 beds have not been replaced. After the shelters closed, homeless people and their supporters set up a camp in Sylvester Park to provide safe shelter for those who no longer had indoor shelter.

Since May of last year, LIHI and CCS have worked with local homeless organizations, service providers, business community members, and City and County officials to identify the housing needs and possible development sites. Along with City staff and the help of three real estate brokers, we toured numerous sites in Lacy, Tumwater and Olympia. Unfortunately many of the sites were not suitable — some were already occupied by renters, and others were inappropriately zoned or inaccessible by public transportation. We began to focus our efforts on finding vacant buildings because we had no interest in displacing renters from their homes to provide housing for other needy people.

The vacant Fleetwood Building owned by U.S. West was first identified by the Homeless Services Community Task Force (now the Homeless Services Committee) as a possible site for shelter. We understand that the Task Force did not have the funds to pursue development of the site at the time. A City of Olympia housing official also urged us to consider the Fleetwood building as a suitable site after we had exhausted other possibilities. LIHI then assessed the viability of the Fleetwood Building and pursued the development of 43 single-room-occupancy (SRO) apartment units to provide permanent housing for formerly homeless individuals.

LIHI initially investigated the use of the Federal Building on Capitol Way for housing. The Federal Building would be transferred by the federal government at no cost for uses that would benefit homeless people. However, some members of the Olympia business community and local government officials voiced strong opposition to using this building as housing. In the spirit of compromise and cooperation, LIHI agreed with the City Council not to develop the Federal Building as housing if the Fleetwood Apartments is fully funded.

On August 16, 1994, after discussion and comment from the public, the Olympia City Council approved a motion supporting LIHI's Fleetwood Building application for federal housing funds. On behalf of the City Council, Mayor Jacobs also wrote support letters to State and Thurston County officials urging their approval for funds to acquire and rehabilitate the Fleetwood Building. In December 1994, Thurston County officials conducted a competitive application process and voted to submit the Fleetwood project for State CDBG funds.

Description of the Fleetwood Apartments

Unfortunately, much misinformation has been spread by some opponents to the housing. The Fleetwood Apartments will provide 43 units of housing for formerly homeless people. The Fleetwood will *not* house a shelter. A shelter typically has a limited stay — up to a few months. And shelters often house people overnight, with the requirement that they leave during the day. In contrast, the Fleetwood Apartments will provide long-term housing under a rental/lease agreement just like any other person renting an apartment. We have also responded to the City's request to design space for social services and recreation for use by the residents.

This housing will be affordable to people with very low incomes. People who are disabled, elderly, living on a fixed income, or employed at minimum wage would be able to afford to live here. Individuals will pay 30% of their income for rent, with HUD providing operating subsidies to ensure that sufficient funds are available to fix-up and maintain the property in good condition. The Housing Authority of Thurston County will administer the rental assistance.

The funding necessary for property acquisition and rehabilitation will include a combination of funds from Washington State, the federal government, and private investors through the low income housing tax credit program. LIHI is still in the process of raising funds to complete financing for the Fleetwood. Because Olympia has new housing resources we have had to leverage funding from other sources. Most of these funds would not be spent in Thurston County if not for this project.

Resident& Community Involvement

The housing will be managed under a self-governance model. Each resident will be a member of the Resident Council, which will participate in management decisions. LIHI will train the residents; provide professional staff oversight; and maintain fiscal accountability. We believe that low-income people can make valuable contributions to their housing. We believe that participatory decision-making leads to skill development, self-confidence, and pride that will benefit the residents in all aspects of their lives. LIHI will employ a housing manager and other staff. Residents will be required to contribute a certain number of hours monthly to undertake maintenance and other duties. LIHI intends to operate the housing as a safe place to live for residents and as a good neighbor to others.

The project will also have a Community Advisory Committee. This Committee will be comprised of interested community members, including business owners, social service agencies and neighbors. The Committee will make recommendations on design (how the building is renovated) and program issues (linkages with social services, good neighbor policy, the management plan, property maintenance, etc.)

Who does the Fleetwood Serve?

The men and women living at the Fleetwood will be able to live independently and access off-site services. We expect some residents to be elderly, veterans, and/or disabled. We are working closely with service providers to ensure residents maintain their links with service providers when they move into the Fleetwood. LIHI will work with Catholic Community Services and other agencies on coordinating social services to the residents. At any given time there are 100-120 homeless men and women in the County. In the Olympic region, Thurston County also has the highest number of people turned away from shelters due to the lack of space (1,402 in 1994). Close to 2,000 people were served by shelters receiving State funds.

The Fleetwood clearly will not meet all of the housing needs in Olympia and Thurston County, nor is it intended to. We agree that additional low-income housing is needed throughout the region. At both public forums held for this project, we have heard about the needs of other groups for housing. For example, homeless families with children are clearly another priority group. A number of other agencies are already working on this.

The tenant selection process is being established with local organizations. The Thurston County Housing Task Force identified permanent affordable housing as the number one long term goal. The Homeless Services Community Task Force, which has conducted shelter surveys and a 'homeless census,' found that housing for homeless single adults is needed in the County. The magnet theory (an argument that homeless people flock to cities that have projects such as the Fleetwood) has been consistently disproved throughout the United States. There will be only 43 units at the Fleetwood, and they will fill up quickly.

Conclusion

The Low Income Housing Institute is a nonprofit organization committed to provide low-income and affordable housing for people in need. LIHI was invited into the Olympia/Thurston County community to develop housing for homeless people. The development process has included meetings with business leaders, housing advocates, government officials, service providers, and others concerned in the community. We have maintained an open door policy of meeting with groups interested in the project. We continue that policy and encourage people to call us.

If you want to learn more about the Fleetwood apartments or wish to take a tour of similar housing already operating in Seattle, please call Sharon Lee or Ginger Segel at (206)727-0355. We would also like the names of people interested in serving on the Community Advisory Committee. We wish to thank all the people and organizations who have worked to develop solutions to the housing crisis. ◆

PROPERTY GIVE AWAY:

The Olympia City Council agreed not to oppose the Fleetwood Project if LIHI would back off plans to convert the historic Federal Building in downtown Olympia into a homeless shelter. LIHI has never given up on acquiring the Federal Building and is set to receive the building at *no cost*. According to federal officials, the Federal Building must be used to serve the homeless. Although it cannot be used for permanent housing, it can be used as a homeless shelter, transitional housing, food banks, other homeless services and administrative ones. I understand from City officials that LIHI plans to move its offices into the Federal Building and rent out space to the government and nonprofit agencies which support their plans. *Not bad - get a free historical building, have the government pay to rehabilitate it, and rent it out to agencies.*

CONCLUSION:

Downtown Olympia already has a substantial number of low income housing units and hosts the Bread & Roses community kitchen in addition to the Salvation Army Shelter. *The Olympian* has reported on increased crime near Bread & Roses and the negative effect it has had on small business owners in downtown Olympia. Fleetwood is, in effect, an overpriced *"field of dreams"* facility that serves LIHI's corporate interests while bringing in homeless from outside the area without providing them with what they really need - *treatment.*

In Defense of Proffitt's Cafe

Dear Works In Progress:

I am a formerly homeless person who lived on the streets of Olympia for 2 years. Proffitt's Cafe has been here for a year now, and they have treated me and my young friends like family. They offer young street people a place to come in for the day and stay dry and warm. Their artwork adorns the walls. They never gave me the feeling that they were against me because of my predicament in life or my homelessness. They helped me move furniture to my apartment without charging me anything. You printed Proffitt's name in the last issue of your newspaper as being against the Fleetwood Building housing project. It is also rumored in Olympia that Proffitt's may be anti-homeless. This is unjust. I have talked to Chris and Mike Proffitt who showed us copies of the petition they signed. The petition is merely a call for a special city council meeting to gain information. I feel that a retraction of their name from the article and an apology is absolutely required to these wonderful people.

Jerry Borrero

A Nation In Denial Authors Comment

Alice Baum and Donald Burnes

[Ed. note: The Fleetwood Fact Sheet referred to here was made available at LIHI's March 16th forum. If you'd like a copy, send a SASE to Fleetwood Facts, C/O WIP PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.]

Let us share with you several immediate reactions. First, even after reading the various materials [these included the Fact Sheet, Newman's Response, and Greg's article *Homeless Smear Campaign Targets Fleetwood* from April's *WIP*], including the Fleetwood Fact Sheet, it is not clear to us exactly who would be served by this project. We continue to be dismayed that HUD requires that potential residents meet the definition of being homeless as well as meeting income requirements. From this starting point, it is almost impossible to be clear about who is being served.

Our confusion about the target population of the project stems from what we consider to be contradictory statements in the Fact Sheet. First, on page 1, the Fact Sheet states that because the Fleetwood apartments can only house 43 people, "many people will be without shelter." This suggests that the Fleetwood Apartments are in fact a form of "shelter."

More importantly, the Fact Sheet states on page 1 that residents "will call the Fleetwood home, just like any other person renting an apartment." However, on page 3, the Fact Sheet also states "some of the residents are expected to have chemical dependency problems, mental health issues, and physical disabilities. Also, on page 2, the Fact Sheet states that the Fleetwood will "house 43 people who currently live on the street or in night-only shelters and spend their days on the streets." If these descriptions are accurate, these are not people who are "like any other person renting an apartment" unless, of course, they are in recovery or are receiving psychiatric treatment for the mental illness.

Nor are these people, absent treatment (or some form of aggressive assistance to help them overcome their alcoholism, addictions, and/or mental illness), likely to be able to maintain themselves in permanent housing or to be able to participate in true "self-governance." From our experience, as you know we think that it will be very difficult for LIHI to find "men and women who can live independently by accessing off-site supportive services" who also now live on the streets or in shelters. If, as Mr. Newman reports from the block grant application, "the population to be served will include people suffering from mental illness" and "people disabled by chemical dependency," it will be very difficult for the staff of the Fleetwood Apartments to "help individuals stabilize their lives" and for these residents to participate in "self-managed projects," given the description of the services being offered.

On the phone last night, you suggested that the Fleetwood project would be an SRO housing project for low-income people and that screening would select people who are not active alcoholics or addicts nor those who suffer from untreated mental illness. However, from reading the materials you faxed, the population targeted sounds very much like those individuals who, when placed in housing without first acknowledging and treating their underlying addictions or mental illness, find it impossible to maintain stable housing and cycle out of the housing, often within six months and often repeatedly.

Furthermore, despite the assertion that the Fleetwood project would be permanent housing, the fact sheet does suggest that, if tenants' incomes rise, "they can remain at the Fleetwood [for] up to one year." This sounds like transitional housing to us and not "like any other person renting an apartment."

From what you told us, your experience working in a shelter gives you a firm sense of the difficulties faced by those individuals who live in shelters or on the streets. We think that, given your firm sense of reality, you are in a unique position to help all parties involved — LIHI and opponents to the project — learn to speak honestly about who and under what circumstances people will be accepted to living in the Fleetwood Project. Our concerns have always been with the "homeless" who are too often set up for failure by being accepted into housing situations with "house rules" and provisions for independent living that are just not appropriate for active alcoholics, addicts, and mentally ill people whose conditions are not being treated. On the other hand LIHI should be aware of the potential for property damage when seriously disabled people are put it situations that they are unable to handle.

Given the contradictory statement (most mentioned above) in the Fact Sheet, we do not find Mr. Newman's use of our work to be wrong. It is not possible for us to comment on the arguments about meetings and opportunities for dialogue, but as you can see, we ourselves are confused by the description of the project as presented in the Fact Sheet.

...[A]ll parties involved in this debate in Olympia should be encouraged to become advocates for real programs to help people who live on the streets or in shelters — intervention, treatment, housing that supports recovery.

We have worked with a number of community groups in situations not dissimilar from what appears to be happening in Olympia. Our strong advice and recommendations are to be completely honest about the target population of the Fleetwood Project. If there will be *no* active alcoholics and addicts and only mentally ill persons whose illnesses have been stabilized and who are continuing treatment, say so. The public relations and education campaign then becomes one of teaching the public and opponents to the project about the inappropriate stigma attached to alcoholism, addictions, and mental illness — these are all conditions from which people can recover and become fully functioning and contributing members of the community and society.

If, on the other hand, the project does intend to select from the street and shelter population, the project managers must be made aware of the fact that setting fragile and sick people up for failure serves no one — and further cements the stigma attached to "low-income housing for poor people." If the purpose of screening is to select those people who are most likely to respond to treatment or counseling, say that also and explain the realistic process of helping these troubled individuals "stabilize their lives." The public needs to be educated about the possibility for successful recovery and needs to learn

(Continued next page)

Olympia at the Crossroads

Vince Brown, Puget Sound Legal Assistance Foundation

The proposal to develop the Fleetwood Building in downtown Olympia into 43 units of affordable permanent housing has met with some resistance. Such resistance is short-sighted. In order to maintain Olympia's vital downtown core, the need for affordable housing in the downtown area must be addressed. In the last twenty years, American cities have witnessed the decline of downtown; often the result of misguided attempts to emulate shopping malls by creating segregated areas for commercial use. Those cities and towns that have maintained a vital downtown core are those that have recognized the importance of maintaining diversity of use and population; mixing commercial with residential and meeting the needs of a diverse population of users, from young to old and low-income to high. The Olympia downtown has maintained much of its vitality because it has adhered to these principles.

Olympia is now at a crossroads in preparing for the future. As the population of Thurston County climbs, and the stock of affordable housing declines, many of the problems facing more urban population centers come home to us here. One such problem is homelessness.

The city has already done much to address homelessness and is continuing to look at ways to improve its services. At the city's behest, the Thurston County Housing Task Force has produced an exhaustive report detailing the causes of homelessness and made recommendations for possible solutions.

The report acknowledges that the forces that push people onto the street are many. They include economic hardship, domestic violence, mental illness and substance abuse, to name but a few.

While the causes of homelessness are many and complex, the solution suggested by the report is simple: 1) the provision of services that address the various causes of homelessness and 2) affordable housing.

Increased services may be more important to the individual. The second component, however, that of affordable housing, is most relevant to the success of Olympia as a community. Affordable housing means the community does not confront the causes of homelessness on the street. Rather, people in crisis are able to access services and resolve their problems in private. Public space would be reserved for public function and the Olympia downtown would be preserved as a safe and inviting district available to a wide variety of users.

The development of the Fleetwood Building into 43 units of permanent affordable housing for formerly homeless people is the first step in such a plan. The project would be managed by the Low Income Housing Institute who currently own and manage three similar housing programs in Seattle. Given that there are projected to be between 100 to 120 homeless people in Olympia at any given time, the Fleetwood is only a partial solution, but it is a step in the right direction.

The Fleetwood would provide housing to those most in need through federally subsidized grant programs. A similar program for the elderly and disabled is already in place at the old Olympian Hotel, just across the park. Not only would the city gain by housing those that currently have no housing options, the downtown would benefit by decreasing the number of homeless on the streets and gain a permanent population of residents at a time when commercial development is squeezing out the few remaining affordable housing options in the downtown core.

By providing real solutions, in the form of affordable housing, to the problems created by a burgeoning population of homeless in Olympia, the city would ensure a future for downtown Olympia that is both vital and prosperous. The Fleetwood proposal should be supported. ◆

OLYMPIA JOURNAL

Perceptions About Low Income People in Downtown Olympia

Carol Burns and Chris Carson

Carol Burns is a local filmmaker who produces "Olympia Journal" for TCTV, channel 3. The program's first edition, televised Tuesday, April 11th, was an excellent debut that wove together Fleetwood historiography, background information on subsidized and nonsubsidized low income housing, excerpts from LIHI's March 16th Community Forum, and on-the-street interviews that ran counter to the oft-heard perceptions of business owners that the homeless impact their businesses and scare their customers. For those of our readers who don't have cable TV, I have transcribed almost all of the interview section of the first edition below with Ms. Burns' permission.

I'm pleased to report that Ms. Burns plans to produce a biweekly edition of "Olympia Journal," which will appear the second and fourth Tuesday of each month at 8:00 PM on TCTV: If you don't have cable, get someone to videotape it for you—it's worth the effort.

Carol Burns: Few business owners actively oppose the Fleetwood proposal, but they worry about public misperceptions. Some of their customers have heard rumors that make them afraid to come downtown. Chris Carson and I asked people if they've ever felt threatened on the streets of downtown Olympia.

1. **CC:** I'm in downtown Olympia with one of the owners of Archibald Sisters... and we're talking about downtown Olympia, fact or fiction. What are you're impressions?

Lou Rollins: As far as whether or not there's something wrong downtown, definitely, I think it's fiction. There's been a lot of negative publicity... There are certain people downtown that possibly you wouldn't want to be around, I really haven't seen it myself; and I get very few complaints from customers who come to this store. I think there's a lot of things going on downtown that are very positive—I haven't really seen too much of the negative.

CC: And you've been downtown for quite a few years. How many years?

LR: Twenty years.

CC: So, long enough to have really seen it...

LR: Yeah, I've seen a lot of things happen downtown, and what's really happening now, more than ever, is a lot of new businesses opening up. And more things for people to do; a little bit more choice. I think that's good news for everybody.

2. **CC:** I'm here with **Matt Skinner** from Tee's Me, and you're a downtown business owner?

MS: Yes I am.

CC: How long have you been on this location [on Fourth Ave.]?

MS: I've been in this location since early December [1994].

CC: OK, so could you give us your reflections; what do you think of downtown Olympia?

MS: I love downtown Olympia, I think there's a lot of renewed support of downtown Olympia in the business community, some of the larger multiple location units are supporting downtown. National companies like Starbuck's, regional companies like Piccolo's...there's a lot of renewed support for downtown Olympia. We're getting a whole new clientele down here locally, or lately, that are rediscovering downtown.

CC: Oh, that's great, that's great to hear because some of the perceptions we've been hearing are that Olympia is a dangerous place to be, that there are frightening folks on the street—what do you think about that?

MS: Well, if you ask those same people that say that it's frightening to come down here "what's happened to them," nothing's ever happened to them, and you ask them where they've heard those things, and they say, "Well, I've just heard that." They can't really substantiate those things...

I guess we really don't have a transient problem down here, it's more a perceived problem rather than an actual problem?

CC: So you think people should come downtown and experience it for themselves?

MS: Definitely.

3. CC: I'm at Jinjor with...?

DS: Debra Shapiro *[Owner].*

CC: What do you think of downtown Olympia?

DS: I think it's great, I've been here for seven years, I like it.

CC: And what about your customers, do they seem to have any problems with coming downtown?

DS: No, in fact, I have a nice customer base who keep returning; I have people coming from out of town; from Seattle, Tacoma, Chehalis, Portland, and they love downtown Olympia. They love the boardwalk, the Capitol, the small town flavor, the restaurants...so I basically hear nothing but good news. We're in kind of a mini-metropolis, so occasionally there's little things going on, but nothing that has affected us at all.

4. **CC**: I'm in downtown Olympia with...?

JM: **John Maher**.

CC: Tell us about your association with Olympia.

JM: I'm a retired Marine officer.

CC: And what about the people that you meet on the street downtown?

JM: One of the friendliest towns in the country; I feel that way... I used to deplore the youth just sitting on the pavement, but not anymore. They're not dangerous, they're going through a phase, and the significant thing about it is the maturity displayed by others; realizing that adolescence is a very difficult time. I believe they're harmless, I believe most certainly they're worthwhile kids.

CC: So you don't feel intimidated by them?

JM: No, I was robbed in NYC, and I've been threatened in Seattle, but it's never happened here. I know it abounds in the nation, but it's not here. There's peace in this place. It must be credited to the schools and the churches, and most certainly to the families.

The LIHI proposal for the Fleetwood building would get people off the streets, and receiving services that they need. Every community in the nation is facing this problem. Shoving it from one place to another will not solve the problem.

Carol's Conclusion

The idea that additional low income housing would make Sylvester Park or the streets of Olympia less safe is absolutely ridiculous. The LIHI proposal for the Fleetwood building would get people off the streets, and receiving services that they need. Every community in the nation is facing this problem. Shoving it from one place to another will not solve the problem. Confrontations between homeless advocates and business owners can only make things worse.

I know that everyone is tired of meetings, but for now, that's what needs to happen. There will be additional meetings; people should attend these meetings, and participate with respect for each other, and with respect for the men and women who need a place to live. ◆

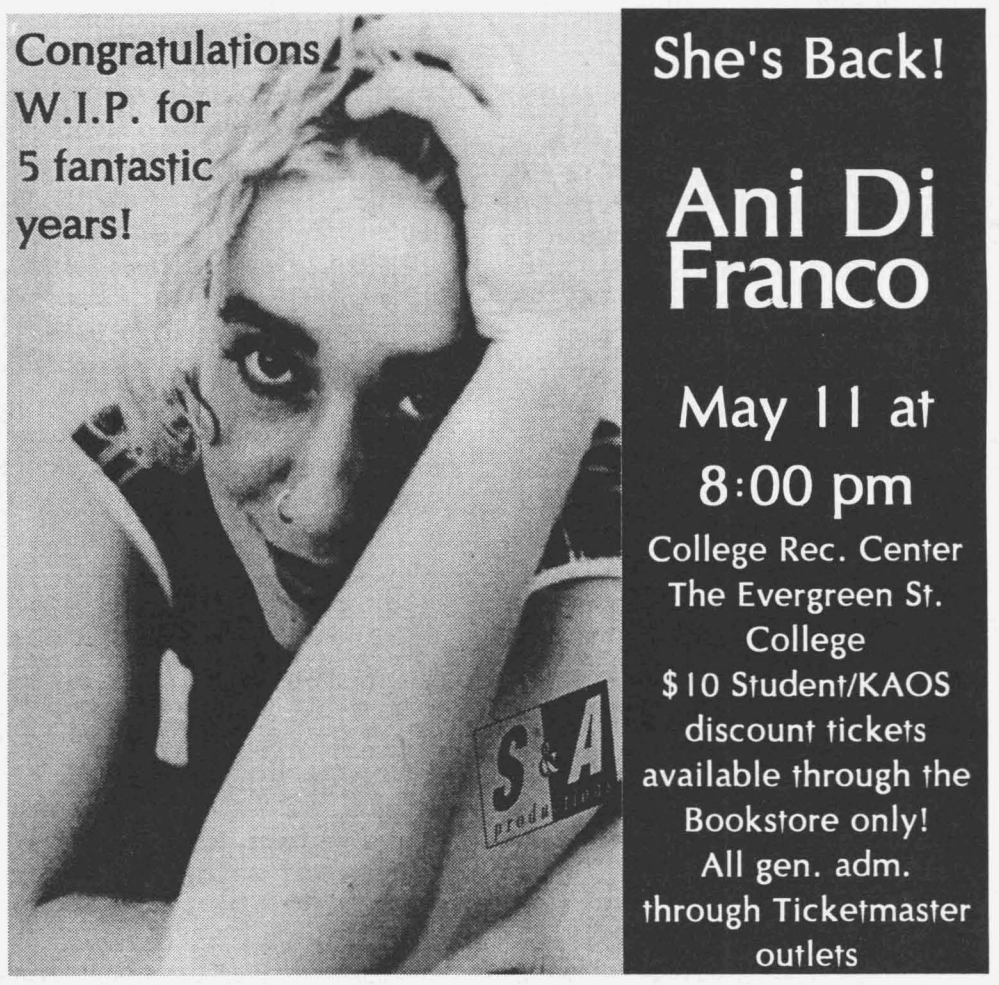
(*Denial*, continued)

that there is real hope that currently "homeless" people can, with proper assistance, become "unhomeless."

Finally, if the LIHI project is being inappropriately challenged to accomplish the impossible by HUD's continuing confusion between poverty and homelessness, then all parties involved in this debate in Olympia should be encouraged to become advocates for real programs to help people who live on the streets or in shelters — intervention, treatment, housing that supports recovery. Given the fact that so much funding is dependent on meeting the HUD guidelines, we understand that communities across America need to pretend to be providing "low-income permanent housing for people just renting apartments" when, in fact, they are required by HUD to say they are offering housing (as opposed to shelter) to the homeless. This mixing of dramatically different policy goals has confused the debate about "homelessness" for too long. Mr. Newman's objections are understandable in this context.

The old saying, "all reform is local," has never been more relevant. We appreciate that all parties in Olympia are trying to do "something." We hope that you can play a role in helping them do the proper thing — either by providing low-income housing for the poor or by developing appropriate programs for people whose disabling addictions or mental illness has resulted in the decline of their helping networks and their inability to maintain themselves in stable housing.

Greg, we think that there is a real possibility here for informed, compassionate, and yet differing views to come together to do the "right thing" in Olympia. There is every indication that everybody concerned really does want to help. What is needed is honesty and a straightforward discussion about who the intended residents are, what their problems and needs are, and how best to address these within the context of unfortunate guidelines from Washington. ◆



Understanding the Contract on America

Clint Burelson

In the darkness of the Contract on America, I would like to shine a light on a way of looking at and understanding what I believe our common situation is and the kinds of strategies we might want to think about to respond to the attack upon working people and the environment.

One's vision of society, and understanding of it as it currently exists and strategies to reach this vision are interrelated. Your analysis and your vision determine your strategies.

So now let me share my vision, analysis and strategies in order that we may strive for a common ground. I want to talk about my idea of a good life first. We have a incredibly beautiful planet here. Most people I know are good, decent people. I feel that if we divided up the necessary work to be done and then shared the results of that work we would get what we need and have a lot more time to play together and enjoy life on earth. This way, if one of us invented a labor saving device we could all work less. I envision a society characterized by cooperation and love.

Let us now look at current reality. In understanding our situation I want to look briefly at three main areas that play a strong role in defining and determining the course of our lives. These are our economic, political, and communication systems.

The situation we find ourselves in today is one in which the majority of us must sell our labor to a very small group of individuals who buy and direct our labor. In many ways it is a master-slave type of relationship except we don't live in the master's backyard anymore. The owners of corporations who buy our labor view us as a commodity much like they would oranges. And in that kind of situation there are certain things that benefit the corporate buyer. If there are a more workers than current jobs in an area then the owners can theoretically buy workers at a lower price. If there are fewer people available for the amount of jobs required, the owners may have to pay more for the workers. They might start looking for people in other areas where there are excess workers and move some of the jobs there. Very logical moves based on their position as a buyer.

Logically too, the owners would be against the workers cooperating with each other and forming unions to raise wages and improve working conditions. Thus corporations are forever sowing division and confusion among workers. Playing workers of one race against another is an old strategy used by corporations to break up the cooperative efforts of workers.

Let us turn to the political system where Americans supposedly come together and democratically decide our common fate. Each of the two groups, corporate owners and workers seek to improve their position by having government serve their interests. Corporations are opposed to any measure that would prevent wages or the price of labor from going down as low as possible. By the nature of their positions as buyers they are logically opposed to the minimum wage, unemployment compensation, welfare and any other social programs that attempt to prevent workers wages from dropping to their "free market value." The recent blitz of attacks on social programs such as welfare is a smart move on the part of corporations to blame the poor for their condition. The attack on the poor is more than simple cruelty and a desire of corporations to save money. The direct savings to the corporations from the money spent on these programs is minimal and when you consider that corporations contribute less to the government each year, the money itself is nothing to them. However, the effect of attacking the safety net of workers on the whole labor market is tremendous. Basically the bargaining position of owners will improve and bargaining position of labor will weaken as the increased labor pool and the lack of a safety net pull wages and working conditions down.

The most successful strategies for social change relied upon cooperation of the oppressed group in the form of marches, sitdown actions, strikes, boycotts and other nonviolent actions.

Corporations also consistently secure money directly through tax cuts and other subsidies and deflect arguments of pure greed by arguing that jobs will be created and wages increased. The trickle down theory. This argument can be exposed as a deception by pointing out that corporations always fight against direct methods of increasing jobs and or wages such as raising the minimum wage, shortening the work week, getting rid of mandatory overtime and strengthening union rights.

It should be made clear though that our political system cannot be called democratic when the financial cost of running is so high. Our political system is stacked heavily in favor of those who are rich or have the support of rich people. The difference between the Republicans and the Democrats is negligible and an inaccurate way of labeling politicians. The question is are you on the side of corporations or on the side of workers and the environment?

When Bill Clinton was still governor of Arkansas, he gave state money to a corporation preparing for a strike. The president of the Arkansas State Labor Council commented that "Bill Clinton is the kind of guy who pats you on the back while he pisses on your leg." I think you can describe the majority of the Democrats as that way. How can we support the Democratic party when they pushed for GATT and NAFTA, programs that reduced the political and economic control of workers in the U.S.?

A look at our communication system reveals how the corporations, although a small part of the population are able to divide and confuse workers from cooperating with each other. The simple thing to understand about the mainstream media is that it is owned and or supported by corporations. Just like a union newsletter is biased towards workers, the mainstream media is biased towards corporations. General Electric owns NBC. Do you think NBC is going to say anything to piss off General Electric? *The Olympian* is owned by Gannett which is another huge corporation. *The Olympian* provides articles on how workers can get ahead at their workplace. Not one article I have read in *The Olympian* has offered the idea that maybe the workers ought to form a union if they want to improve their position at work. Instead, *The Olympian* repeatedly argues that the way for workers to get ahead at work is to engage in behavior such as dressing and talking like the boss, behavior that most workers would recognize as sucking up.

photo by Rick Hoonan

Look also at how the mainstream media treat their own work force. How much money does it pay it's workers to deliver their product? I recently read a help wanted ad in which *The Olympian* was offering a "small business opportunity." It was actually an ad for what was known in my day as a paper boy route. The fact that many people believe the media is objective or even liberal is a tribute to the power of the commercial media to misinform.

Based on my understanding of the situation before us and based on my vision of a cooperative type of society I believe that those of us who are in the position of having to sell our labor must organize a political organization that will allow us to share information, provide education and organize in ways that benefit our interests as workers.

It doesn't make sense for working class folks to run candidates in the larger money draining campaigns for elected office. It is better to give money towards the education and organization of working people than to simply give money to the Democrats. As far as I can see the Democrats do little education at all and instead invest their resources in ads that appear on tv, radio and in your yard that merely say, "vote for me." It may be that working people may still vote for Democratic candidates, but at least the people will have gotten wiser and perhaps even start acting in their self interest. Any good union organizer will tell you that they would rather have a strong base of members ready to strike than one person with nice hair who speaks with a well modulated voice. Also, the power of the people to force change even in the light of hostile politicians cannot be forgotten.

The history of the labor movement, the civil rights movement, environmental movement and the gay rights movement contain valuable lessons for today. The most successful strategies for social change relied upon cooperation of the oppressed group in the form of marches, sitdown actions, strikes, boycotts and other nonviolent actions. The focus of these successful movements was on organizing the oppressed group into mass actions at strategic locations that would force the offending party to concede. Because people organizing for progressive social change want a loving and cooperative world and because mass organizing is a successful strategy, the movement for justice and peace must be loving and cooperative.

If you believe our political system and communication system is corrupt then it makes sense to not only expose that corruptness but also to create your own political organization and communication systems.

Fortunately there are a few organizations locally who already exist that should be supported. Community radio, especially KAOS is very good at providing information and song that expose harmful corporate influence. *Works in Progress* is a local newspaper that provides alternative print media that is not controlled by corporate money. The Labor Center at Evergreen is an exciting bunch of people who are there to assist labor. Also the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace is a community group that studies issues and organizes support in the interest of labor and other oppressed groups. Finally, there is a new organization waiting to be born that especially needs your help. The Political Cultural Center is an idea for a place where members of the community can come together to share information, ideas and song. It will be an information clearinghouse, research center and home for those people who have interests the exact opposite of corporations.

Many of us have spent much time helping the wounded. We also need to help organize people so that we may one day become strong enough to throw the corporations off our backs. If we organize, we can win.

Thank you for your attention. ◆

(NO! Contract, continued)

ing even more profits by moving production out of the U.S. to superexploit workers from Mexico to Indonesia.

Sadly, this is what the Contract with America in Washington, D.C. and Olympia, Washington is about—to make Olympia, Washington State, the United States and the world more undemocratic and unequal. Is corporate Newt going to get away with it? NO! His language is using words and phrases to mean their opposite—The Personal Responsibility Act—does not mean millionaires paying taxes on April 15th-it means further reducing welfare payments which have already fallen by 1/2 over the last 20 years. It means kicking people off welfare without providing day care or decent paying jobs or education—it is about scapegoating and stealing from the poor. Of course, this is not the crime they write about in the "Taking Back Our Streets Act" or its Washington State counterpart, "Hard Time for Crime Act" which aim to execute and lock up more and more people. That is one way of reducing unemployment, just lock enough people up or put them to death. What about, instead, strengthening the right to unionize and creating meaningful jobs at livable wages?

The name of the "The Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act" of the Contract With America, which just passed the U.S. House of Representatives, could have been taken out of Orwell's *1984*. This act would reduce taxes for those wealthy and greedy enough to make large amounts of money not by work but by capital gains—buying and selling paper—bonds, stocks, real estate. Taxes on capital gains will be reduced by more than 1/2. This reduction in taxes to families making more than $200,000 is greater than the entire cost of Aid to Families With Dependent Children. As you file your taxes this weekend, rest assured, you're safe, the Contract with America wants to increase military spending—against whom? The enemy is those worldwide who are not willing to accept poverty and inequality— you, me, the Zapatistas in Chiapas. Don't let them get away with it.

To fight the Contract on America and the Right Wing we need another vision. It cannot be based on putting our hopes in the Democratic Party who for the most part do not question profits and the right of multinational corporations to pay the lowest wages and least taxes with minimal environmental controls all over the world. That is what NAFTA and GATT are all about. We cannot fight the Contract by accepting most of their assumptions, and using much of their rhetoric and program. Let us instead put forward a bold vision based on global solidarity across borders where we understand our allies are peasants and workers all over the world—not corporations just because they call themselves American. Let us begin with a vision based on the dignity of all people and the right of all people as human beings to health care and adequate housing, not mansions for a few and the Salvation Army for others. Our vision also includes full employment at livable wages, quality education and childcare for all, reproductive rights, full civil rights for gays and lesbians—where meeting human needs and real democracy are the organizing principle of this society. Let us resist the status quo as we, the people, build a society where children are truly valued, not one where 1/4 of all children and close to 1/2 of Latino, Black and Native American children live in absolute poverty in a country where others live in obscene wealth, where the market is worshipped but more and more human beings are discarded and imprisoned. Let us have a vision and work to make it a reality that is inclusive, that expands affirmative action and does not target immigrants, that targets and challenges corporate capitalism. We need to control capital and multinational corporations; if they want to leave where they are located and move production, they can, but we are taking and keeping their capital so workers and communities can control production democratically. Unless we stop the power of the multinationals we will always be on the defensive, accepting their terms of the debate.

Let us be bold as we organize and demonstrate and educate against the Contract with America and build a society where meaningful democracy, respect for diversity, self-determination for all people, the end of poverty and a sustainable environment become the reality. The alternative is a repressive order, nationally and globally with a few wealthy people, a declining comfortable class, and a police state to guard them from the rest of us who become poorer and poorer. We can and have to do better. What we are saying makes sense. Newt and Linda don't.

Dare to struggle, dare to win!

Thank You! ◆

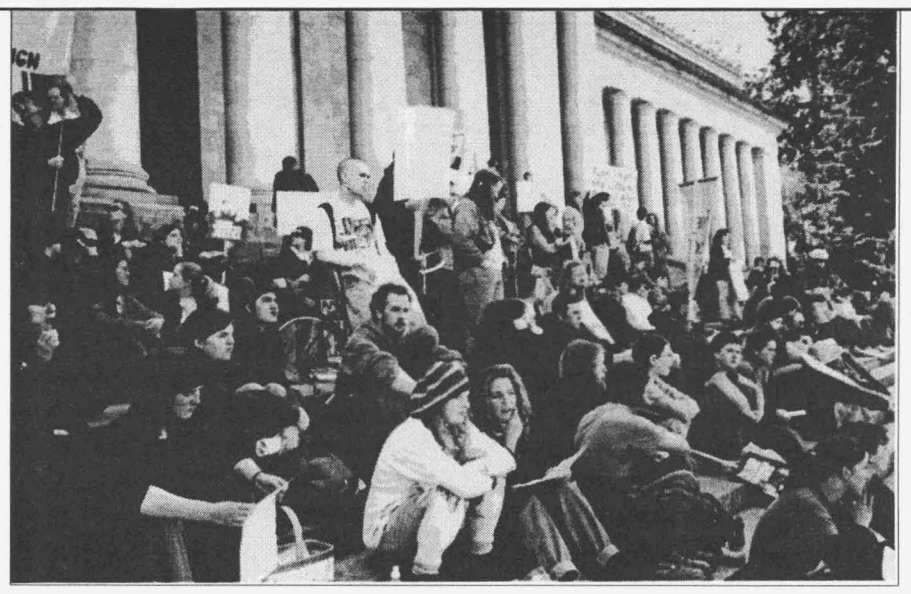


photo by Bob Zeigler

Boycott Urban Onion

Speech delivered by Pat Tassoni on the April 15th Rally Against the Right.

Welcome to the first stop on our tour of Olympia: the Urban Onion.

Yesterday, there was a rally across the street in Sylvester Park to show support for the victims of a hate crime. Two youth were assaulted by homphobes, an act following from Colonel Cammermeyer speaking at Olympia High School. The atmosphere of bigotry and intolerance promotes hate crimes.

Today, we are here to recognize that the greedy atmosphere of the Contract on America encourages and empowers businesses to act upon, even to step up, their actions which express their shared sentiment of profits over people.

Their hate crimes are evidenced locally by anti-union activity like the Urban Onion did a few years ago. It is evidenced in the recent attack on the poor and the homeless like the owners of the Urban Onion have done. It is evidenced in the anti-youth ordinances that downtown businesses have supported like the Urban Onion.

The owners of this establishment are not entitled to our money — they do not represent our interests. I will not eat at the Urban Onion. I tell everyone to not eat at the Urban Onion. And today, I say BOYCOTT THE URBAN ONION!

The Right's cries to save America, to save Olympia, to save Sylvester Park are nothing more than crimes. They are actions to take America away from the people; to take Olympia away from the poor, the youth, and all those of us who don't just shop; they want to take Sylvester Park away from all those who can't afford to or who won't pay the price of admission: profits over people. I say no!

No to corporate welfare! No to tax breaks for the rich! Yes to livable wages, safe jobs, quality education, and the right to unionize! Yes to social programs that support healthy individuals, families, communities, and environments!

And to the Urban Onion: NO! ◆

The Religious Right and the NEA

Artist Trust Newsletter

As you know, the Republicans have a Contract With America that pledges to reduce the budget without raising taxes. This means deep cuts and program elimination. You've already heard the smoke-and-mirrors term "privatizing" quite a few times by now from Republican leadership. PRIVATIZE MEANS DEFUND.

Stepped up efforts by the Religious Right to get rid of the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and elimination of public funding for the Corporation for Public Broadcasting are already underway.

The Religious Right knows they have a good chance of getting what they want in the coming months with the new tide of

Republicans on the Hill. Four of our own representatives from Washington State were highly rated in this last election in Christian Coalition voter pamphlets...Metcalf, Smith, Hastings, and Tate.

Over the past five years, arts organizations in Washington State have received nearly $12 million in NEA funding. A total Endowment elimination would have a major impact on state-wide arts programs of all kinds and be a loss felt by all citizens. An Endowment that lives on but gets cut year after year is what we have now. It is already showing tangible signs of getting more and more conservative and being less directly involved with artists. Many Republicans support a five year series of cuts for the NEA.

The Religious Right has been attacking public cultural funding for years now by using clever media tactics, sensationalism, and very advanced grass roots efforts to overwhelm Congress with letters, faxes, phone calls, and e-mail. When a vigilant group like the Christian Action Network (CAN) asks its members to send letters, they do it. They aren't too busy to take action on their moral issues.

The Christian Action Network began a massive letter writing campaign to "defund and abolish" the NEA right after the November election. They are already intensively at work even before members of the new Congress have even plugged in their phoned and faxes. Their most recent letter pushed representatives to "defund and abolish this rogue agency that wastes millions and offends millions."

The CAN systematically sends out pre-written letters to its members which are addressed to Congressional representatives and senators. The CAN members sign them and send them back to CAN with money to pay for the cost of running the letter campaign and more. Then CAN delivers the letters to Congress and goes to the bank with the money which helps them with their next mailing. It is very simple and very effective.

Many arts organizations in Washington are beginning to use a similar strategy, hoping to mobilize the full breadth of arts audiences. Total national arts audiences far outnumber the total members of organizations such as the Christian Action Network, but our constituents are generally not as active.

THIS YEAR WE MUST BE MORE EFFECTIVE THAN THE RELIGIOUS RIGHT. ◆

The GOP's "Contract with America"

WIP News Service

Newt Gingrich's right-wing plans in Congress amount to a massive transfer of wealth from poor and working people to the rich. The goal of his "Contract with America" is to push U.S. society back before the New Deal.

Before union rights. Before unemployment insurance and the minimum wage. Before public assistance and Social Security. Before the civil rights movement. Before the women's movement. Before Stonewall. Before most of the gains won over the last 60 years.

"The items in the contract had to be doable, and they had to be things that would have resonance with the American people," says Rep. Bill Paxon, who is chair of the National Republican Congressional committee. "That's why school prayer and other items were left out. Teams put the proposed legislation together, but Newt made the decisions."

Gingrich wanted to propose an agenda guaranteed to succeed. That's why, as Paxon points out, the most interesting items in the contract are the ones that are missing: school prayer; a constitutional amendment banning abortion; a federal version of California's Proposition 187; vouchers for home schooling or parochial schools; a flat tax; repealing affirmative action; gutting the Brady Law and the ban on assault weapons; not reauthorizing the Safe Drinking Water Act, Superfund program, Clean Air Act, and Americans with Disabilities Act.

Yet these missing items are the Republicans' real agenda, the ones they will test after the House finishes with the contract.

GOP pollster Frank Luntz tested the components of the contract before focus groups. Only those provisions that scored a favorability rating of 60 percent or higher made it into the contract. In other words, Republicans know the items they will be voting on in the first 100 days of Congress have already been embraced by the public.

If the freshmen do everything the contact says, they'll be in excellent shape for 1996, and the Republicans can add to their majority in Congress.

1. *Balanced Budget Amendment and Line-Item Veto.* "The Fiscal Responsibility Act: A balanced budget/tax limitation amendment and a legislative line-item veto to restore fiscal responsibility to an out-of-control Congress, requiring them to live under the same budget constraints as families and businesses." This bill:

- Control by the Treasury Department over recessions would be eliminated; unemployment would have been higher by 1.5 million with a balanced budget amendment in the last recession.
- Prohibits reductions in military and Social Security spending in fiscal year 2002.
- More than $1.3 trillion in spending would have to be cut: equal to *one dollar out of every four*.
- Provisions for IRAs, capital gains, business depreciation, and Social Security would generate federal revenue or cause only small losses over the next 5 years — but after that period federal revenue loss is likely to exceed $400 billion.
- The exact effects of a balanced budget amendment on welfare, student loans, and dozens of other government programs are not described
- The 1974 Safe Drinking Water Act and the Superfund program, responsible for toxic-waste cleanup, may not be reauthorized.
- In total, the Republican tax plans would cost upwards of $100 billion a year when fully effective.

YES to social programs that support healthy individuals, families, communities, and environments!

2. *Crime.* "The Taking Back Our Streets Act: An anti-crime package including stronger truth-in-sentencing, `good faith' exclusionary rule exemptions, effective death penalty provisions, and cuts in social spending from this summer's `crime' bill to fund prison construction and additional law enforcement to keep people secure in their neighborhoods and kids safe in their schools."

- Directs billions of dollars to build jails to warehouse poor people and people of color, while eliminating job programs and those that help poor and working-class youth get an education.
- The bill eliminates the Violence against Women Act which provided money to defend abortion clinics from fanatical attacks.
- Will allow illegal search and seizures.
- Will increase crime.
- This provision is about the ongoing creation of a strong police state, not about protecting anyone.

NO to building more prisons, YES to education and job opportunities!

3. *Welfare.* "The Personal Responsibility Act: Discourage illegitimacy and teen pregnancy by prohibiting welfare to minor mothers and denying increased AFDC for additional children while on welfare programs, and enact a tough two-years-and-out provision with work requirements."

- AFDC benefits would be denied to children whose paternity has not been established (29% of AFDC children) even if mothers are cooperating fully with state efforts to track down absent fathers and establish paternity.
- A maximum of 5 years of AFDC benefits would be mandated in all states, regardless of family circumstances; with an optional 2 year maximum.
- In 1991 only 8.1% of all mothers receiving AFCD were under 20.
- AFDC recipients would be required to repay benefits at "wages" equal to $2.42 an hour.
- 70% of families remain on welfare for less than 2 years, some return to welfare after several years, due to lost jobs or wages that are insufficient to support them; these would be ineligable for welfare under the 2-years-and-out policy.
- 40% of those living below the poverty line work full-time.
- AFDC, food stamps, nutritional programs, and housing subsidies for poor people account for less than 4% of current federal spending

YES to income support to end poverty and hunger! YES to livable wages, safe jobs, quality education, and the right to unionize! NO to punitive welfare reform that is designed to utilize impoverished women as a cheap or free labor source!

4. *Children.* "The Family Reinforcement Act: Child support enforcement, tax incentives for adoption, strengthening rights of parents in their children's education, stronger child pornography laws, and an elderly dependent care tax credit to reinforce the central role of families in American society."

- $67 billion of Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education was devoted largely to education ($10 billion for Pell grants and guaranteed student loans and $4.2 billion for Head Start); job training and job-injury compensation ($5 billion for job training, $2.5 billion for unemployment, and $1 billion for black lung benefits).
- It will be harder to get a safe, affordable abortion.

5. *Middle-Class Tax Cut.* "The American Dream Restoration Act: A $500 per child tax credit, begin repeal of the marriage tax penalty, and creation of American Dream Savings Accounts to provide middle class tax relief."

- A $500 per child tax credit, costing $26-30 billion per year; disproportionately benefits higher income families ($100,000+ annual income); lowest income families would be ineligible for the credit.
- Tax-rate reduction for couples who are married, at a cost of $30 billion a year.

6. *National Security.* "The National Security Restoration Act: No U.S. troops under U.N. command and restoration of the essential parts of our national security funding to strengthen our national defense and maintain our credibility around the world."

- Defense is the second largest area of spending - the interest on the debt is the first.
- Military expenditures, even after all the down-sizing and base closures, still amounts to 3/4 of a billion dollars per day.
- Will create a permanent warfare state that will drain resources from social services.
- In fiscal year 2002, military and Social Security would be "walled off" from budget reductions, taxes would be cut heavily, and it would make it difficult to raise taxes in the future.

We say YES to peace!

7. *Senior Citizens.* "The Senior Citizens Fairness Act: Raise the Social Security earnings limit which currently forces seniors out of the work force, repeal the 1993 tax hikes on Social Security benefits and provide tax incentives for private long-term care insurance to let Older Americans keep more of what they have earned over the years."

- Repeal of the 1993 tax change that included 85% of Social Security benefits in adjusted gross income at higher income levels; costing about $5 billion a year.
- Restoration of IRA tax breaks for upper-income levels, initially costing $3 billion a year; with a long-term cost exceeding $12 billion a year; families making more than $50,000 a year would mainly benefit.
- Even with tax incentives many retirees cannot afford medical insurance; so this measure mainly benefits wealthier families.

We say YES to affordable health care for *all*!

8. *Capital Gains.* "The Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act: Small business incentives, capital gains cut and indexation, neutral cost recovery, risk assessment/cost-benefit analysis, strengthening the Regulatory Flexibility Act and unfunded mandate reform to create jobs and raise worker wages."

- This is a push for gigantic tax cuts targeted to corporations and the well-off.
- Over $100 billion in corporate subsidies (welfare for the rich) are not being threatened. They will be increased.
- A huge capital gains tax cut, with a 50% exclusion for capital gains on top of the current 30% exclusion for top bracket taxpayers. The Joint Committee on Taxation estimates the cost of this capital gains tax break to be $25 billion a year-mostly for the very rich.

Effects of the Capital Gain Tax Cuts in the GOP "Contract"

Income	*% of Total Cut*	*Average $ Cut*
$10-20,000	0.4%	5
$30-40,000	0.7%	14
$50-75,000	4.8%	75
$200,000+	72.3%	11,286

- Accelerated depreciation write-offs (Neutral Cost Recovery System) would lose $8 billion annually by its fifth year, and would cost tens of billions of dollars a year soon thereafter. Without doubt, many major corporations would no longer pay any federal income taxes at all.
- The Job Creation and Wage Enhancement Act may have the most far-reaching effect of anything the Republicans do this Congress. It will ban unfunded mandates, stipulating that agencies have to provide state and local governments with the money to pay for the cost of any new regulation. An example of an unfunded mandate is the school breakfast and lunch program as well as many other social programs, including the ADA, which are mandated by the federal government but the states must implement.
- This bill guts existing environment, worker protection, and consumer protection laws by putting in place a system of determining whether the financial cost to businesses is worth the number of people who will be injured and killed, or ecosystems destroyed (risk assessment/cost benefit analysis).
- Your air, water, and land will get more polluted.
- You will have less protection from defective and dangerous goods.
- The food and drugs you buy will be less safe.

No federal agency has been more criticized by the Republicans than the Food and Drug Administration. Gingrich called it the "number one job-killer" in the country.

Gingrich has actually called for replacing the FDA with a "council of entrepreneurs," claiming that the market will take care of any poisonous foods or drugs.

With less money, the FDA will conduct fewer investigations.

We're talking about things like the recent E.coli bacteria food problems.

- Your health-especially if you're poor-will deteriorate.

If you cut back on social spending, you increase the rate of a lot of poverty-associated illnesses and injuries. But it won't happen right away. It may take four or five or eight years to see an increase in the death rate.

- The contract attacks federal regulations with a pro-business attitude, which promotes the idea that environmentalism does nothing but cost jobs and cripple businesses. Gingrich has gone so far as to call the Environmental Protection Agency the second largest job-killer in America.
- Requires landholders and corporations to pay the costs of environmental cleanup and endangered species preservation.
- There is nothing in the Act to raise wages or create jobs-they will "trickle down."

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Will the real grassroots groups please stand up

Unveiling Corporate Front Groups

Rosemary Brown

Beware: In cities and communities across the nation, so-called "citizens" groups are being bred to champion the causes of corporations. Alongside their support for genuine grassroots organizations, hundreds of corporations and industries are bankrolling front groups to advance their own interests and profits. And they're using the money you spend on their products to do it.

Everyday, these corporate mouthpieces are working to convince legislators, the media, and the American people that they represent the public interest when it comes to issues like health, the economy, and especially the environment. With convincing names like National Wetlands Coalition, Consumer Alert, Citizens for a Sound Economy, and Keep America Beautiful, it isn't hard. But pullback the curtains and you'll find citizens' groups with few, if any, citizens; environmental groups bereft of conservationists; consumer groups headed by industry leaders; and justice foundations staffed with corporate lawyers.

Pawns for industry, these front groups want to "set the record straight." Global warming is just a myth, proclaims the Information Council on the Environment. Pesticides do not pose health risks, say the American Council on Science and Health and others. Citizens for Sensible Control of Acid Rain report that the threat has been contained. And sweeteners that cause cancer in laboratory animals are safe for humans, the Calorie Control Council assures us. Sounds official until you look at the funding and members supporting these so-called citizens and research groups:

- The National Coal Association founded the Information Council on the Environment. With C02 emissions accounting for about half of the greenhouse effect, coal companies have a lot to lose if citizens seek alternative energy sources.
- Corporations within the food, drug and chemical industries — Dow Chemical USA, Kraft Foundation, General Mills, to name a few — fund the American Council on Science and Health. The Council for Agricultural Science and Technology boasts more than 150 corporate members from Agripro Biosciences, Inc. to Uniroyal Chemical Co. — all with an interest in pesticides and herbicides.
- Very few citizens are members of Citizens for Sensible Control of Acid Rain, but more than a dozen of the nation's largest and dirtiest power plants are.
- Sweeteners saccharin, cyclamate and aspartame earn millions of dollars for the supporters of the Calorie Control Council — more than 60 manufacturers and suppliers of low-calorie, low-fat and light foods and drinks including the NutraSweet Company, Coca-Cola, and Tate & Lyle Specialty Sweeteners.

By using these names, groups are attempting to garner respect for themselves by riding on the back of the true environmentalists and consumer advocates, " say Mark Megalli and Andy Friedman, authors of *Masks of Deception — Corporate Front Groups in America*, from Washington, DC-based Essential Information. They have peeled away the facades of 36 of the more influential front groups in America today, at the same time revealing the main corporate sugar daddies.

Everybody is pretending to be grassroots now, says John Echeverria, legal counsel for the National Audubon Society. "It's a classic tactic." With today's public concern for the environment, the corporations responsible for damaging it are worried. Their response — a proliferation of corporate front groups to downplay environmental crises and promote industry's interests.

So much so that it's hard to differentiate between genuine and phony citizens' groups. Take the Washington, DC-based National Wetlands Coalition, which is bent on weakening wetlands regulations. It helped draft legislation (Comprehensive Wetlands Conservation and Management Act H.R. 1330) to restrict the definition of wetlands, open them up to commercial development, and force taxpayers to compensate property owners (usually corporations) when environmental restrictions are implemented. In 1989, the coalition was formed and funded by some 60 concerns, such as developers, utility companies, and gas and mining corporations including the American Mining Congress, the International Council of Shopping Centers, Amoco, and the Natural Gas Supply Association. Staffed by the Washington law firm of Van Ness, Feldman and Curtis, the coalition is led by H. Leighton Steward, head of the Louisiana Land and Exploration Company, the largest owner of coastal wetlands in the country.

One of America's most forceful front groups, Consumer Alert, maintains that acid rain, global warming, pesticides and asbestos have no serious impact on the environment or public health. Its backers — including Anheuser-Busch, Exxon and Philip Morris Co. — are leaders in the anti-environmental corporate front group crusade.

Hijacking grassroots groups' organizing strategies, corporate front groups have mounted a backlash against environmentalists, consumers and justice seekers. Wielding newsletters, letter writing campaigns, demonstrations, public hearings and conferences, they aim to beat grassroots organizations at their own game. And with corporate backing, they have more money and technology to do it.

> ***"Under the banner of free enterprise, democracy and economic growth, these groups advocate nuclear power, fossil-fuel development, expanding landfills, mineral exploration in national parks, development of wetlands and the repeal of crucial environmental legislation," says Deal.***

"They stole the skills from us. They are duplicating the efforts of real grassroots groups," says Mike Williams, organizing director for Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste based in the Washington, DC area. But Williams contends that the truth will win in the end.

Kathy Kilmer in the Central Rockies Region office of The Wilderness Society, is less confident. "The environmental movement is being harmed in the public's eyes," she says. But environmentalists, bruised by the backlash, are learning where their weaknesses are and addressing them with information drives, strategizing workshops and community organizing.

And none too soon, because the front group phenomenon is escalating, particularly in the land use arena, says Kilmer.

"WISE USE" MOVEMENT

Together, many of these anti-environmental groups form the "wise use" movement that encompasses some 500 organizations. Originating in the West, the movement aims to continue to log, graze, mine and develop America's public lands despite the environmental consequences, says the Wilderness Society's Kilmer. "Wise use" groups try to block reforms that could hurt industries that profit at the expense of public lands. "Worse yet, American taxpayers help foot the bill in the form of subsidies amounting to $800 million a year," says The Wilderness Society. These subsidies include uncollected royal-

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(Contract, continued)

We say NO to corporate welfare, YES to income support to end poverty and hunger! YES to college education and skilled job training! YES to affordable housing, health care, and jobs for all! NO to tax breaks for the rich, YES to social programs that support healthy individuals, families, communities, and environments!

9. *Legal Reforms/Product Liability.* "The Common Sense Legal Reform Act: `Loser pays' laws, reasonable limits on punitive damages and reform of product liability laws to stem the endless tide of litigation."

- Losers of lawsuits would pay all legal fees.
- Increases the risk of financial ruin to individuals, consumer rights, and environmental organizations when sueing large corporations for damages.
- You will have less protection from defective and dangerous goods.

NO to legal reform, YES to fairness and justice!

10. *Congressional Term Limits.* "The Citizen Legislature Act: A first-ever vote on term limits to replace career politicians with citizen legislatures."

- Term limits reduce accountability.
- An unknown can run successfully only if she or he has huge financial backing, which will in all likelihood come from large corporate donors.

We say NO to term limits, YES to government *of* the *people*, *by* the *people*!

•••••

•If you're gay or lesbian, you'll face more discrimination.

It was tough for gay rights groups too make gains with a Democratic Congress; the fight now is to stem the losses.

In the last congress, Sen. Jesse Helms (R-NC) pushed for an amendment to the education funding bill that would have denied federal funding to school districts that appeared to "condone" homosexuality in their curriculum or counseling services.

•If you're disabled, your life will get harder.

The contract says that the ADA puts burdensome regulations on business, and it's an "unfunded mandate"-a federal law whose enforcement states have to pay for.

"People are dying to jump on the ADA," says Pat Wright of the Disability Rights Education Defense Fund. How? One way is to cut its funding; another is to ban outright all unfunded mandates.

•Legislation against "unfunded mandates" is an anti-labor attack. It allows states to ignore or eliminate progressive laws such as Family Leave, OSHA Regulations, Fair Labor Standards, Prevailing Wage and other pro-labor, anti-discrimination acts.

Workers are also threatened by efforts to gut the National Labor Relations Act which outlawed management-controlled company unions. Under the name "labor-management cooperation," the Republicans, Pres. Clinton and Labor Secretary Reich are hoping to strike a mortal blow against the trade unions which won welfare, social security, and other gains in the 1930s.

End all entitlement programs, unemployment insurance and even the minimum wage.

The threatened privatization of the post office, public radio and television and other agencies to benefit corporations at the expense of public service.

Sources: Mother Jones, Citizens for Tax Justice, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Z Magazine, The Nation, National People's Campaign.

For more information on the contract contact the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace by writing C/O WIP PO Box 295 Olympia, WA 98507.

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(Fronts, cont.)

ties on hard rock mining, timber sales below cost in national forests, and grazing fee program expenses. Not to mention the cost and damage to public lands in barren hillsides, ruined watersheds, disappearing wetlands and diminished biodiversity.

Embracing mining and timber companies, ranchers, developers and chambers of commerce, the "wise use" movement also has ties to conservative Christian groups, including the Unification Church, birthplace of the "moonie" movement. What unites them is their desire to protect industry, not nature.

Sometimes they win. One of the most bitter victories is the gutting of the *Visions for the Future* document that would have protected Yellowstone National Park and its surrounding ecosystem. Led by Pueblo, Colorado-based People for the West!, the "wise use" movement demolished the document's guidelines with propaganda, protests and corporate dollars, leaving Yellowstone more vulnerable to miners, ranchers and loggers. The movement can also take credit for diluting vital clean air legislation, and keeping the 1872 Mining Law on the books, which gives anyone who finds mineral deposits on federal land the right to purchase it for $5 per acre — a "gold mine" for mining companies.

Fifty-four masters of the backlash movement and their agendas are exposed in the *Greenpeace Guide to Anti-Environmental Organizations*, written by Carl Deal. "Under the banner of free enterprise, democracy and economic growth, these groups advocate nuclear power, fossil-fuel development, expanding landfills, mineral exploration in national parks, development of wetlands and the repeal of crucial environmental legislation," says Deal. "They create false choices for the public by pitting jobs, family values and the economy against environmental concerns."

Along the way they assault genuine environmental groups, calling them anti-American and anti-family.

In Silver City, New Mexico, a local wise use group attacked environmentalists in a series of inflammatory ads that ran hourly for a month on two area radio stations.

"Did you know that modern environmentalism is rooted in pagan nature worship?" asked one ad. "The radical animal rights wing of the environmental movement has a lot in common with Hitler's Nazis. If they can succeed in assigning humans the same worth as all other life, they will be that much closer to their real goal: the dismantling of the technology and civilization which supports the human race," said another.

These excerpts and 18 other 30 and 60-second spots were sponsored by Minuteman Media Foundation, an Albuquerque nonprofit organization whose mission is to "educate the public in the efficient and responsible use of natural resources, and related environmental issues, by using popular media techniques," according to its articles of incorporation. The articles also reveal Minuteman's biased board of directors, including Al Schneberger, executive director of the New Mexico Cattle Growers Association; Ronnie Merritt, president-elect of People for the West!; and Chuck Stocks, publisher of New Mexico Stockman. Other board members are linked to the New Mexico Mining Association.

"Minuteman's board of directors reads like a who's who of New Mexico's extractive industries," says Susan Schock, director of Gila Watch, a nonprofit organization working to protect the nearby Gila National Forest. Schock and her group were among those targeted by the ads.

Gila Watch and Sierra Club activists anticipated a backlash after several environmental successes, says Schock. "What the environmental community did not expect was the blatant fear and hate campaign that was launched."

Economic extortion and hate mongering is what Mike Williams of Citizens Clearinghouse on Hazardous Waste calls it. His organization, like many others, is arming its constituents with skills to combat the anti-environmental backlash. With workshops, courses and guides, CCHW trains grassroots groups to counter distorted information and respond to intimidation tactics sometimes employed by front groups.

Boycott Chevron of New Mexico has another strategy. Charging that Chevron donates thousands of dollars annually to the "wise use" movement and corporate front groups, it has called a boycott of the company.

Genuine citizens' groups, environmentalists and consumer advocates are working to dash the front group masquerade and strengthen the genuine grassroots movement for consumers, justice and the environment.

Rosemary Brown co-edits Co-op America Quarterly. *This article originally appeared in* CAQ, *and it is available in a special reprint of the Winter* 1994 CAQ, *entitled* "The Business of Backlash: Don't Buy It", *which is available from Co-op America, 1850 M Street NW, #700, Washington, DC 20036, USA.*

Resources

Clearinghouse on Enviromnental Advocacy and Research (CLEAR), 1718 Connecticut Ave. NW, #300 Washington, DC 20009, USA, (202) 6674982

Western Organization of Resource Councils, 2401 Montana Ave., Suite 301 Billings, MT 59101, USA (406) 252-9672

Masks of Deception: Corporate Front Groups in America, by Mark Megalli and Andy Friedman, published by Essential Information, P.O. Box 19367, Washington, DC 20036, USA.

The Greenpeace Guide to Anti-Environmental Organizations, by Carl Deal. Available from Odonian Press, Box 7776, Berkeley, CA 94707, USA, (800) REAL-STORY.

Let the People Judge: A Reader on the Wise Use Movement, edited by John Echeverria and Raymond Booth Eby, published by Island Press, Box 7, Dept. 5AU, Covelo, CA 95428, USA.

15 Top Funders of Front Groups

DOW CHEMICAL	**ARCO**
MONSANTO	**EXXON**
CHEVRON USA	AT&T
MOBIL	FORD
DUPONT	AMOCO
PHILIP MORRIS	PFIZER
ANHEUSER-BUSCH	
PROCTER & GAMBLE	
PHILLIPS PETROLEUM	

◆

...AND WHO THEY FUND

Front Group	*Stated Purpose*	*Industry Slant*
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON SCIENCE AND HEALTH	to provide consumers with up-to-date, scientifically sound information on the relationship between chemicals, food, nutrition, lifestyle, the environment and human health.	to convince the public that almost no food, drug, or chemical is harmful if consumed in moderation.
KEEP AMERICA BEAUTIFUL	ridding America's roadsides of unsightly and hazardous litter.	opposes the national bottle bill because industrial members produce and use bottles (Coca-Cola, Pepsi-Cola, Procter and Gamble), or are paid to dispose of trash (Browning-Ferris Industries, Waste Management of North America).
NATIONAL SAFETY COUNCIL	protecting life, promoting health.	a way for corporations and industries to gain legitimacy with the public, their workers, investors and others through corporate safety awards and incentive programs that could discourage workers from reporting workplace injuries.
COUNCIL FOR SOLID WASTE SOLUTIONS	to address the plastics component in solid waste solutions.	to win public support for the use of plastics.
COUNCIL FOR AGRICULTURAL SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY	to provide current, unbiased scientific information concerning food and agriculture.	supports America's dependence on the use of synthetic pesticides, food irradiation and herbicides.
CONSUMER ALERT	neutral educational and research organization which presents information in a fair and fully expositive manner so that an individual or the public can form an independent opinion on consumer issues.	to save money at the expense of consumer interests, such as safety, product testing, education benefits and health.
ALLIANCE FOR A RESPONSIBLE CFC POLICY	to ensure that the establishment of reasonable government policies regarding the further regulation of CFCs and protection of the stratospheric ozone layer be pursued on an international basis and be based on scientific facts.	to ensure that alternatives to chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) remain available without regulation, and CFCs are only regulated by the Protocol and Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990.
ALLIANCE TO KEEP AMERICA WORKING	to protect balance and fairness in employer-employee relations and support policies that increase job opportunities and strengthen the competitive position of American business.	to fight against pending "workplace fairness" legislation that would prevent employers from permanently replacing striking workers.
NATIONAL WETLANDS COALITION	to advocate a comprehensive and balanced wetlands policy for the United States.	to open up America's wetlands to commercial development and force taxpayers to compensate property owners when environmental restrictions are implemented.
CITIZENS FOR A SOUND ECONOMY	broad-scale membership organization to represent citizens' interests.	to further the corporate agendas of its members by fighting (and winning) against regulation of Bell regional telephone companies, the Clean Air Act of 1990, California's Proposition 128, which would have created a regulatory office to enforce environmental measures and fuel efficiency standards for automobiles.

List excerpted by Risileanne Wright and Rosemary Brown for Co-op America Quarterly *from* Masks of Deception: Corporate Front Groups in America *(1991) by Mark Megalli and Andy Friedman and the* Greenpeace Guide to Anti-Environmental Organizations *(1993) by Carl Deal. Some of these corporations also give to genuine citizens' and grassroots groups. Reprinted with permission.*

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   WORKS IN PROGRESS
3. MILITARY/BUDGET - *by Sheimo*
   MEDIA/PEACE DIVIDEND - *by Krinsky*
5. TAXES/FEDERAL/MILITARY - *by Holm*
6. THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION - *by Thomas*
7. ENVIRONMENT/LABOR/TIMBER - *by Warring*

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• LEGEND •

List of (most) SUBJECT terms in no particular order:

ELECTORAL PROCESS • WORKS IN PROGRESS • MILITARY • MEDIA • TAXES • ENVIRONMENT • LABOR • EDUCATION • WA STATE INVESTMENT • CIVIL RIGHTS • ELECTION • BOYCOTT • DEMOCRACY • ORGANIZING • HISTORY • JUSTICE • PEACE • CORPORATE • TRANSPORTATION • RELIGION • MARXISM • POLICE • RACISM • SOCIALISM • HEALTH • POLITICS • ART • MULTICULTURALISM • PERSONAL STORY • ECONOMY • FILM • BOOK • MUSIC • RAINBOW

Interests may be listed under specific terms (all of which are not listed here):

LAND-VALUE • BLACK • NATIVE • JEW • QUEER • HOMELESS • YOUTH • [COUNTRY NAME] • DISABLED • GULF • WOMEN • NAFTA • [PERSON'S NAME] • ARAB • [SUBECT NAME] • LABOR

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1. ELECTION/ANALYSIS - *by Jennings*
   GROWTH/WESTSIDE - *by Love*
5. THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION
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7. EL SALVADOR - *by Bye*
8. FILM/PRINCE OF TIDES - *by Dell*
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9. FILM/JFK - *by Calvert*
10. GATT/FREE TRADE - *by Freeman*
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13. CIVIL RIGHTS/AFFIRMATIVE ACTION - *by Gomez*
14. BOYCOTT/ANIMAL RIGHTS/GILLETTE - *by Lyons*
15. HEALTH/AIDS/WOMEN - *by La Musga*
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1. LABOR/BOYCOTT/URBAN ONION - *by Freeman*
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7. HEALTH/AIDS/LABOR - *by Davis*
8. ELECTION ANALYSIS - *by Fulani*
10. COMMUNISM/U.S. - *by Jette*
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12. ENVIRONMENT/BOVINE GROWTH HORMONE - *by Lyons*
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4. EDUCATION/MULTICULTURALISM - *by Marable*
5. THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION
6. CIVIL RIGHTS/JUSTICE/PELTIER - *by McLaughlin, Miller, Murney*
7. MILITARY/SCHOOL OF THE AMERICAS - *by Jones*
8. LABOR/URBAN ONION - *by Wallach*
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1. MEDIA/BAGDIKIAN - *by Mateson*
2. WORKS IN PROGRESS
3. WORKS IN PROGRESS
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9. MEDIA/ELECTIONS - *by Hudson*
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1. POLICE/DANNY SPENCER - *by Simonsen*
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1. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/PRIDE
   CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Sandoz*
3. BOYCOTT/ENVIRONMENT/AMERICAN EXPRESS - *by Lyons*
4. FILM/G.E./NUCLEAR - *by Lawlor*
   THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION/PUPPET THEATRE - *by Holm*
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   BOYCOTT/STONE CONTAINER - *by Lyons*
6. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Ortiz*
   BLACK/ORGANIZING - *by Marable*
7. SOCIAL ANALYSIS - *by Jacobs*
8. ENVIRONMENT/COMMUNITY FARMS - *by Moore*
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10. LIBRARY/MEDIA/ART - *by Love*
11. ELECTION/PEROT - *by Johnson*
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1. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Sandoz*
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3. MUSIC/CITIZENS BAND -
4. SOCIAL ANALYSIS/ORGANIZING - *by Marable*
5. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
6. LABOR/MEDIA/POLITICS - *by Ortiz*
7. ELECTION/PEROT/DEMOCRATS - *by Johnson*
8. ECONOMY/POLITICS - *by Bohmer*
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3. ELECTION/CANDIDATES - *by Darkenwald, Dare*
   SOCIAL ANALYSIS - *by Riffero*
4. BLACK/HISTORY - *by Marable*
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5. ELECTION/SENATE - *by Poole*
6. GULF ANALYSIS - *by Price*
8. QUEER/PARTNERS SURVEY
   CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER
9. QUEER/PFLAG - *by Phibbs*
10. BOYCOTT/IRELAND/RACISM/COKE - *by Lyons*
11. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
12. ELECTION/HISTORY/FASCISM - *by Demian*
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13. LABOR/ELECTIONS - *by Ortiz*
14. NATIVE/HERITAGE WEEK - *by Wells*
    ENVIRONMENT/RECYCLING - *by Berger*
16. ENVIRONMENT/HEALTH/MICROWAVES - *by Micro Wave News*

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1. JUSTICE/PAROLE - *by Poole*
   POVERTY/ORGANIZING - *by Riley*
3. SOCIAL ANALYSIS - *by Cousteau*
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5. ELECTION/FUTURE VOTERS
6. BOYCOTT/HEALTH/NESTLE/AMERICAN HOME - *by Lyons*
7. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
8. ELECTION/CLINTON - *by Poole*
9. ELECTION/CIVIL RIGHTS - *by Freeman*
10. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Sandoz*
11. ORGANIZING/QUEER
12. HEALTH/F.D.A.
13. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS/ST. MARTINS - *by Ortiz*
14. SOMALI/MILITARY - *by Johnson*

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1. CIVIL RIGHTS/SEXUAL HARASSMENT - *by Jennings, Brighton, Carhart*
   CIVIL RIGHTS/JUSTICE/HATE CRIMES
3. ELECTION/ENDORSEMENTS
4. EDUCATION - *by Marable*
5. ELECTIONS - *by Poole*
6. ELECTIONS/ORGANIZING - *by Jette*
7. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
8. NATIVE/QUINCENTENNIAL - *by Panikkar*
9. SOCIAL ANALYSIS - *by Johnson*
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12. DEMOCRACY/TECHNOLOGY/ORGANIZING - *by Kinchen*
13. BOYCOTT/SOUTH AFRICA/SHELL - *by Lyons*
14. CUBA - *by Petit*

Volume 3, Number 8, December 1992

1. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS/ST. MARTINS - *by Ortiz*
   MEDIA/POVERTY/RICHARD SHAFFER - *by Bedillion*
4. ELECTION ANALYSIS - *by Marable*
5. BOOK/CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES ON MASCULINITY - *by Denny*
6. ENVIRONMENT/LABOR/SOCIAL JUSTICE/RACE - *by Zink, by Rosenthal*
8. CIVIL RIGHTS/SEXUAL HARASSMENT - *by Carhart, by Campbell*
10. ELECTION ANALYSIS - *by Johnson*
    ELECTION ANALYSIS/MILITARY - *by Jacobs*
11. EDUCATION - *by McKenzie*
12. JUSTICE/INS/OROZCO AND CARCAMO - *by Moore*
    CUBA - *by Friendshipment*
13. BOYCOTT/HUMAN RIGHTS/CHINESE TOYS - *by Lyons*
14. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*

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1. LABOR/NAFTA/HOQUIAM - *by Burrows*
   CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Sandoz*
3. SOCIAL ANALYSIS - *by Light*
   CIVIL RIGHTS/SEXUAL HARASSMENT - *by Carhart*
4. ELECTION/ANALYSIS - *by Marable*
5. FILM/MALCOLM X/RACE - *by Johnson*
6. PERSONAL STORY/BOB SIEVER/BREAD & ROSES - *by Hohnholt*
   TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Heller*
7. GROWTH/WESTSIDE - *by Brisley*
8. MEDIA/NUCLEAR - *by Torvik*
9. BOYCOTT/G.E./NUCLEAR - *by Lawlor*
10. NAFTA/DEMOCRACY/HUMAN RIGHTS - *by Brooks, et al*
11. POVERTY/WORLD - *by RESULTS*
12. JUSTICE/INS/OROCO AND CARCAMO
    SOMALI/MILITARY - *by Jacobs*
13. KAOS - *by Freeman & Arens*
14. BOYCOTT/ANIMAL RIGHTS/PROCTER & GAMBLE/CARME - *by Lyons*

Volume 3, Number 10, February 1993

1. NAFTA/ORGANIZING - *by Brisley*
   THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION
3. CIVIL RIGHTS/DISABLED - *by Bedillion*
4. THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION
5. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/RACE - *by Marable*
6. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Ortiz*
   BOYCOTT/CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/STE. MICHELLE - *by Lyons*
8. HOMELESS - *by Hohnholt*
9. SOCIAL ANALYSIS/WOMEN - *by Jacobs*
   CIVIL RIGHTS/JUSTICE/THURGOOD MARSHALL - *by Johnson*
10. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*

Volume 3, Number 11, March 1993

1. HOMELESS - *by Hohnholt*
   CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Sandoz*
3. LIBRARY - *by Sandoz*
   HEALTH - *by Montague*
4. THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION
5. MULTICULTURALISM - *by Hall*
6. FEMINISM/FRIEDAN - *by Asseln*
7. HISTORY/RACE/ROMA - *by Tassoni*
8. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Sandoz*
10. MULTICULTURALISM - *by Light*
    JUSTICE/NATIVE/SOVEREIGNTY/HAWAII - *by Marable*
11. EDUCATION/ORGANIZING - *by Johnson*
    HISTORY/IMPERIALISM/ART/AMANDLA! AWETHU! - *by Sell & Martin*
12. MULTICULTURALISM/S & M - *by Allen*
13. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
14. BOYCOTT/LABOR/NAFTA/LEVI-STRAUSS - *by Lyons*

Volume 3, Number 12, April 1993

1. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Bye & Campbell*
   CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Kirton*
4. HEALTH/ENVIRONMENT/MULTIPLE CHEMICAL SENSITIVITY - *by McDonell*
5. MULTICULTURALISM - *by Marable*
6. POLITICS/FOREIGN POLICY - *by Johnson*
7. MILITARY - *by Jacobs*
8. ELECTORAL PROCESS/PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION - *by Hill*
9. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/BOYCOTT/J-VEE - *by Nothstein*
10. BOYCOTT/RACISM/SNAPPLE - *by Lyons*

Volume 4, Number 1, May 1993

1. NATIVE/SHOSHONE - *by Wells*
3. WORKS IN PROGRESS
4. POLITICS/DOMESTIC POLICY - *by Johnson*
5. BLACK/NAACP/ORGANIZING - *by Marable*
6. NAFTA - *by Feigen, et al*
   NAFTA/INS - *by Jimenez*
7. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Ortiz*
8. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER
10. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Jacobs*
11. PERSONAL STORY/JUSTICE/NATIVE - *by Bedillion*
12. CIVIL RIGHTS/SEXUAL HARASSMENT/ST. MARTINS - *by Dreyer*
13. POLITICS/LABOR/ORGANIZING - *by Zink*
14. BOYCOTT/LABOR/NAFTA/GREEN GIANT/G.E. - *by Lyons*

Volume 4, Number 2, June 1993

1. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Kirton*
3. HEALTH - *by Montague*
   SOCIAL ANALYSIS/HEALTH/ALCOHOL - *by Light*
4. NAFTA - *by Brisley*
5. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
6. MILITARY/HISTORY/FT. LEWIS - *by Bye*
8. BOYCOTT/ENVIRONMENT/TROPICANA - *by Lyons*
10. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Schlecht*
11. MILITARY - *by Johnson*

Volume 4, Number 3, July 1993

1. GROWTH/WESTSIDE - *by Brisley*
   HEALTH/NEEDLE EXCHANGE - *by Poole*
2. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER
4. BLACK/HAROLD WASHINGTON - *by Marable*
5. BLACK - *by Johnson*
   TRANSPORTATION/BICYCLES - *by Roth*
6. HISTORY/LABOR/CESAR CHAVEZ - *by Ortiz*
7. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
8. HOMELESS - *by Foutch*
10. ENVIRONMENT/HEALTH/CHLOROFLUOROCARBONS - *by Tassoni*
11. MILITARY/CORPORATE - *by Jacobs*
12. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/PRIDE - *by Freeman*
13. SOCIALISM/ORGANIZING
14. BOYCOTT/LABOR/DIAMOND WALNUT - *by Lyons*

Volume 4, Number 4, August 1993

1. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS/GENOAS - *by Tassoni*
   HEALTH/NEEDLE EXCHANGE - *by Hohnholt*
4. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Marable*
5. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/MILITARY - *by Fraser*
6. CIVIL RIGHTS/FREE SPEECH - *by Nelson*
7. MEDIA - *by Pelletier*
8. HOMELESS - *by Hohnholt*
10. EDUCATION - *by Legg*
11. SOMALI - *by Johnson*
    PEACE/MILITARY - *by Jacobs*
12. NATIVE/JUSTICE/GRAND COULEE - *by Harden*
14. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
15. BOYCOTT/LABOR/GM - *by Lyons*

Volume 4, Number 5, September 1993

1. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Sandoz*
   HOMELESS - *by Hohnholt*
3. CIVIL RIGHTS/MULTICULTURALISM - *by Marable*
4. RELIGION/ANALYSIS/CULT - *by Slaby*
5. BOYCOTT/ANIMAL RIGHTS/ALASKA - *by Lyons*
6. CUBA
7. SOCIALISM - *by Averill*
8. FICTION/STAR TREK - *by Johnson*
9. TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*

Volume 4, Number 6, October 1993

1. CIVIL RIGHTS/JUSTICE - *by Schlecht*
   TAXES/601/602 - *by Freeman*
4. BLACK HISTORY - *by Marable*
5. MILITARY - *by Jacobs*
6. TAXES/MILITARY/EDUCATION - *by Anderson*
7. RELIGION/ANALYSIS - *by Slaby*
   TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
8. BOYCOTT/CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/COLORADO - *by Lyons*
9. ENVIRONMENT/TIMBER/SIBERIA - *by Clubbe*
10. CIVIL RIGHTS/FREE SPEECH - *by Payne*
11. AFRICA - *by Johnson*
14. MUSIC/KARAOKE - *by Hohnholt*

Volume 4, Number 7, November 1993

1. TAXES/601/602 - *by Jennings*
   WORKS IN PROGRESS/THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION
4. EDUCATION/MULTICULTURALISM - *by Marable*
5. MULTICULTURALSIM/ORGANIZING - *by Johnson*
6. HOMELESS - *by Hohnholt*
   TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
7. PERSONAL STORY/YARDBIRDS - *by Serrano*
8. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Sandoz*
10. HEALTH - *by Montague*
11. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/RELIGION - *by Beeman*
12. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Howell & Poor*
13. SOMALIA - *by Jacobs*
14. MULTICULTURALISM/ARAB - *by Simons*

Volume 4, Number 8, December 1993

1. CIVIL RIGHTS - *by Johnson*
   CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/RELIGIOUS RIGHT - *by Sandoz*
3. CIVIL RIGHTS/DISABLED - *by Huang*
   MULTICULTURALISM - *by Collins*
4. LABOR/CORPORATE - *by Bedillion*
   JUSTICE/1593 - *by San Carlos*
5. HEALTH/ENVIRONMENT/BGH - *by Lyons*
6. CIVIL RIGHTS/YOUTH/JUSTICE - *by Kelso*
8. HOMELESS NEWS & VIEWS
10. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/FILM/GAY RIGHTS-SPECIAL RIGHTS - *by Sandoz*
    CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/HISTORY/FILM/GAY RIGHTS-SPECIAL RIGHTS - *by Fribaum*
12. BOSNIA/SARAJEVO

Volume 4, Number 9, January 1994

1. HOMELESS/BREAD & ROSES - *by Huang*
3. NATIVE/COWLITZ - *by Wilson*
4. BLACK - *by Marable*
5. HOMELESS/POVERTY/UNEMPLOYMENT - *by Zink*
6. YOUTH/MARIO AGOSTA - *by Freeland*
7. HOMELESS NEWS & VIEWS
11. HAITI - *by Johnson*
12. KOREA - *by Jacobs*
13. CIVIL RIGHTS/CHOICE
14. EDUCATION/SEXUAL HARASSMENT - *by Denny*
15. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Poor*

Volume 4, Number 10, February 1994

1. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER
   CIVIL RIGHTS/DISABLED - *by Huang*
4. FASCISM - *by Marable*
5. KOREA - *by Zink*
6. POVERTY/WORLD - *by Holden*
7. HOMELESS NEWS & VIEWS
11. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Schlecht*
12. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Sandoz*
14. ECONOMY - *by Glover*
    BOYCOTT/CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/COLORADO

Volume 4, Number 11, March 1994

1. HOMELESS - *by Hohnholt*
2. GROWTH - *by Dreyer*
3. YOUTH - *by Spencer, by Rosenthal*
4. YOUTH/ORGANIZING - *by Marable*
5. MEDIA/JUSTICE/NELSON
   CIVIL RIGHTS - *by Johnson*
6. TELEVISION ANALYSIS/STAR TREK - *by Johnson*
7. HOMELESS NEWS & VIEWS
11. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Poor*
12. MEDIA/RELIGIOUS RIGHT
13. ENVIRONMENT/HEALTH/MULTIPLE CHEMICAL SENSITIVITY - *by McDonell*
14. SOCIAL ANALYSIS - *by Jacobs*
    TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*

Volume 4, Number 12, April 1994

1. YOUTH/POLICE - *by Hendrickson*
3. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Poor*
4. YOUTH/BLACK - *by Marable*
9. CHIAPAS - *by Abeles & Bye*
10. BLACK/JEW - *by Johnson*
    LATIN AMERICA/MILITARY - *by Jacobs*
11. ELECTION/LABOR PARTY - *by Zink*

Volume 5, Number 1, May 1994

1. HOMELESS - *by Hohnholt*
   YOUTH/HEALTH/FETAL ALCOHOL SYNDROME - *by Hendrickson*
2. WORKS IN PROGRESS
3. BLACK/HEALTH - *by Marable*
   MUSIC/CORPORATE - *by Jacobs*
4. GROWTH/ELECTIONS - *by de Armond*
6. SOCIAL ANALYSIS/RACISM - *by Zink*
7. HOMELESS NEWS & VIEWS
11. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Crosby*
12. ELECTORAL PROCESS/INITIATIVES
13. SOCIAL ANALYSIS/HISTORY - *by Slaby*
15. HEALTH/YOUTH - *by Dorris*

Volume 5, Number 2, June 1994

1. CIVIL RIGHTS/YOUTH/TRANSPORTATION - *by Tassoni*
   YOUTH/LABOR - *by Poor*
3. SOCIAL ANALYSIS/PREJUDICE - *by Light*
4. ENVIRONMENT/NUCLEAR - *by Norris*
5. SOUTH AFRICA - *by Johnson*
   WA STATE INVESTMENT - *by Montague*
6. QUEER/SPORTS - *by Sandoz*
7. HOMELESS NEWS & VIEWS
11. BOYCOTT/FILM/CENSORSHIP/BLOCKBUSTER - *by Lyons*
12. QUEER/MEDIA - *by Sandoz*
    QUEER - *by Montague*
14. POLITICAL COMMENTARY/HISTORY/NIXON - *by Bohmer*
15. BOOK/LAND OF IDOLS - *by Zink*

Volume 5, Number 3, July 1994

1. QUEER/PRIDE
3. ENVIRONMENT/SEWAGE - *by Dunsmore*
4. HOMELESS NEWS & VIEWS
6. YOUTH/BLACK - *by Marable*
7. HAITI - *by Jacobs*
   KOREA - *by Johnson*
8. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Poor*

Volume 5, Number 4, August 1994

1. POLICE - *by Grant*
   HOMELESS/MEDIA - *by Hohnholt*
3. BLACK/ORGANIZING - *by Marable*
   CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Johnson*
4. MULTICULTURALISM/LANGUAGE - *by Stahmer*
   EDUCATION/TECHNOLOGY - *by Jacobs*
5. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Lyons*
6. NATIVE/JUSTICE/HISTORY - *by Veaux*
9. QUEER/SPORTS - *by Sandoz*
10. TAXES/FEDERAL/MILITARY - *by Anderson*

Volume 5, Number 5, September 1994

1. ELECTION/PUBLIC UTILITY - *by Stearns*
   CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Crosby*
3. TRANSPORTATION/PUBLIC - *by Campbell*
   ELECTIONS
4. HOMELESS/MEDIA - *by Hohnholt*
   SOCIAL ANALYSIS/CLASS - *by Imani*
5. CHIAPAS
6. LABOR - *by Zink*
7. ECONOMY - *by Zink*
8. BLACK/HISTORY - *by Johnson*
9. PERSONAL STORY/RACISM - *by Landsong & Daaz*
11. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Bedillion*
12. BOYCOTT/CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/GRAPES - *by Lyons*
13. ORGANIZING/RELIGIOUS RIGHT/QUEER
14. RELIGION/BAHA'I - *by Atkinson*

Volume 5, Number 6, October 1994

1. LABOR/FRED MEYER - *by Bye*
   HOMELESS - *by Hohnholt*
3. HOMELESS - *by Hoefle*
4. MEDIA/RACISM - *by Marable*
5. BLACK/NAACP - *by Johnson*
6. HAITI - *by Remis*
7. INDONESIA - *by Warner*
8. NATIVE/JUSTICE/HISTORY - *by Veaux*
10. HOMELESS - *by Flynt*
    TAXES/LAND-VALUE - *by Saillard*
11. CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER - *by Reilly*
12. ELECTION/WHITT
13. CIVIL RIGHTS/LABOR/FARMWORKERS - *by Payne*
14. BOYCOTT/CIVIL RIGHTS/QUEER/CHOICE/DOMINOS/PIZZA

Volume 5, Number 7, November 1994

1. ELECTIONS/JUSTICE/WHITT - *by Crow*
   ELECTIONS/ENDORSEMENTS
4. HOMELESS - *by Hohnholt*
5. SPORTS/LABOR/BASEBALL - *by Johnson*
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WORKS IN PROGRESS HISTORICAL CALENDAR

★ ★ ★ ★ MAY 1995 ★ ★ ★ ★

"The surface of American society is covered with a layer of democratic paint, but from time to time one can see the old aristocratic colors breaking through." Alexis De Tocqueville

Sun	Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Fri	Sat
"History is the long and tragic story of the fact that priviledged groups seldom give up their priviledges voluntarily." MLK, Jr.	**1** 1866- Beginning this day for 3 days, white Democrats and police attack freedmen and white allies in Memphis. 46 black and 2 white liberals are killed and 70 plus are wounded. 90 homes, 12 schools and 4 churches are burned	**2** 1914- Suffrage Day is declared in New York 1924- United States Supreme Court upholds the involuntary sterilization of people who are developmentally delayed 1933- Adolf Hitler abolishes all labor unions in Germany	**3** 1963- Thousands of school children stage protest marches for 2nd day in Birmingham when marchers are set upon by police dogs and powerful streams of water from fire hoses. The number of children arrested is over 2,000	**4** 1886- Haymarket Square Riot 1907- Twenty thousand march in New York City to support IWW leader Big Bill Haywood who is accused of murder 1961- Thirteen Freedom Riders begin bus trip through the South	**5** 1862- Cinco De Maya: French troops trying to seat the Archduke Maximilian of Austria on the throne of Mexico are repulsed by Mexican soldiers 1925- John T Scopes arrested for teaching theory of evolution in violation of state law	**6** 1906- British kill 60 Zulus in punitive expedition in S. Africa 1935- Works Progress Administration created by Congress to provide work for unemployed 1937- Hindenburg explodes, burns at Lakehurst, N.J.
7 1879- California adopts new constitution that includesa clause forbidding employment of Chinese-American laborers 1905- Jews massacred in Ukraine 1913- Prudential Life declares cancer national menace	**8** 1858- John Brown holds antislavery convention. 12 whites, 34 African-Americans attend in Canada 1902- Mt Pele erupts and wipes out town of St. Pierre, 40,000 died 1958- Vice-Pres. Nixon pelted w/ fruit, eggs, & stones in Lima, Peru	**9** 1892- Coal mine explosion kills 45 in Roslyn, Washington 1933- 1st book burning of banned books by Nazis in Berlin 1963- Agreement of gradual desegregation of facilities is reached to halt racial violence in Birmingham, AL	**10** 1775- Ethan Allen and Green Mountain Boys storm British fortress 1872- Victoria Woodhull chosen as National Woman Suffrage Association's US pres. candidate 1963- Pope John XXIII receives the Balzan Peace Prize	**11** 1950- Pres. Truman travels to Washington State to dedicate the Grand Coulee Dam 1957- Eisenhower and S. Vietnam Pres. Diem meet in Washington, DC. They affirm their commitment to prevent the spread of world Communism	**12** 1792- Yankee trader Rober Gray entered "a large river of fresh water", and names it Columbia after his ship 1958- Robert McNamara suggests Americans eat cabbage and broccoli to withstand radiation fallout	**13** 1905- U S Marines defend Puerto Rico from attacks by rebels angered at US intervention in Dominican economy 1958- Nixon attacked by 100s of anti-US demonstrators in Venezuela, hurling rocks at limousine
14 ○ 1909- New York City mayor vetoes equal pay for female teachers 1961- Bus containing the first group of Freedom Riders is bombed and burned by mobs of white racists outside Anniston, Alabama	**15** 1869- The National Woman suffrage Association is formed in New York and Elizabeth Cady Stanton is chosen as its first president 1916- United States Marines land in Santo Domingo to quell civil disorder	**16** 1974- Mohawks reclaim part of New York State 1974- Richard Kleindienst pleads guilty to misdemeanor charge of failing to testify fully/ accurately before Senate Committee. 1st attorney general convicted of crime	**17** 1954- United States Supreme Court rules that racial segregation in the nation's public schools is unconstitutional 1961- Castro offers to exchange most of prisoners captured in Bay of Pigs invasion for 500 heavy tractors	**18** 1896- United States Supreme Court upholds 'separate but equal' doctrine 1910- Halley's Comet passes over the sun, frightening many hundreds of thousands of people throughout the United States	**19** 1536- Anne Boleyn beheaded by Henry VIII 1856- Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts gives his "Crime Against Kansas" speech 1902- 200 killed as mine shafts crumble in Tennessee 1925- Malcolm X born	**20** 1921- President Harding presents to Madame Curie a capsule of radium worth $100,000 as the gift of the women of the United States 1961- White mobs attack Freedom Riders in Montgomery, Alabama
21 1610- Virginia enacts first anti-sodomy act 1857- Armies hired by the US industrialist Cornelius Vanderbilt ends rule of William Walker in Nicaragua 1961- Gov. Patterson declared martial law in Montgomery, calls out National Guard	**22** 1856- Rep. Brooks of S. Carolina savagely beats Senator Sumner with cane for speech *Crime Against Kansas* 1909- Georgia rail workers strike against employment of African-Americans 1961- 200 US marshals sent to Montgomery	**23** 1609- Charter given to Virginia Co. grants greatly increased governmental powers in American colony 1909- NYC police end Emma Goldman lecture saying she "wandered" from topic by mentioning Joan of Arc and other martyrs	**24** 1861- Maj. Gen. Benjamin F. Butler declared slaves "contraband of war" 1918- 284,114 women register to vote in New York City 1961- Twenty-seven Freedom Riders arrested in Jackson, Mississippi	**25** 1943- Riot at Mobile, Ala. shipyard over the upgrading of twelve black workers 1971- Young black woman, Jo Etta Collier, killed in Drew, Miss. by bullet fired from passing car. Three whites were arrested	**26** 1937- Ford factory police attack, brutally beat U.A.W.U. officials Walter Reuther, Richard Frakensteen at Ford's River Rouge plant. They were supervising distribution of pamphlet demanding end of Ford's policy of open shop	**27** 1929- Supreme Court upholds lower court's denial of citizenship to Hungarian immigrant who is an avowed pacifist. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr argues to think unpopular notions is a principle of the US Constitution
28 1915- Berlin women demonstrate for peace 1942- Hitler orders a "blood bath" in Czechoslovakia in reprisal for the murder of Rainhard Heydrich a day earlier: 2,000 were executed, thousands deported to concentration camps.	**29** ● 1907- Japanese ask for California police protection from continued assaults 1912- 20 young women were dismissed from jobs at Curtis Publishing Co after the Ladies' Home Journal editor saw them dancing during lunch	**30** 1431- Joan of Arc burned at the stake for sorcery and heresy 1937- 1,000 strikers try to force a shutdown at the Republic Steel Corporation in South Chicago and get into it with the police. 10 are killed and 90 are wounded	**31** 1912- American Marines land in Cuba to "protect" U S property 1931- 1st All-Southern Conference for the Scottsboro Defense meets in Chattanooga 1955- Supreme Court ordered school integration "with all deliberate speed"	May was the third month of the Roman calendar and was named after the Goddess Maia, eldest of the Pleiades.		"The answer to injustice is not to silence the critic but to end the injustice." Paul Robeson, 1941

APRIL

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JUNE

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○ full moon ● new moon

★ *"We are made of history"* MLK, Jr ★